VIRASAIVISM IN ANDHRA

Ph D THESIS

1975

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VĪRAŚAIVISM IN ANDHRA

by

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Thesis submitted for the award of the
Ph D Degree
of Karnatak University, Dharwar
1975

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude my indebtedness to the following

1 My First Guide, the Late Dr P B Desai, who started me on this work and guided me in the initial stages,

2 My present guide Dr G S Dikshit, who helped me to complete it It is not an exaggeration if I say that but for his encouragement and guidance, my work would not have taken this shape in such a short period,

3 Vice-Chancellor, Dr P C Hiremath, Registrar, Sri S S Wodeyar, Professor S Settar and other authorities of Karnatak University, who gave me permission and encouragement to work in this University,

4 To the Librarians of the Karnatak University Kannada Research Institute, Andhra University and Mysore University,

5 Dr B S L Hanumantha Rao for his valuable suggestions and guidance It is he who inculcated in me interest in the field of Research,

6 Mr D Basavanagaiah and the late Sri Bandaru Tammayya for their encouragement The former gave me many books relating to the subject,

7 Dr Sadyojata Swamiji for reading and explaining certain Kannada passages,

8 Mr R Saratbabu for help in preparing the glossary and in interpreting certain Telugu and Sanskrit verses,

9 Dr N C Vijayaraj for help in preparing the map,

10 Sri S R Gunjal and Miss B Hymavati Reddy for help of various kinds, and

11 Last but not least, the Principal Sr St Andre, St Joseph's College for Women, Waltair for providing me facilities for working on the thesis

Dharwar K Lalithamba

10-10-1975

ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Anubhavasaramu
ARSIE	Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy
AR	Archaeological Report
BC	Basavesvara Commemoration Volume
BP	Basavapuranamu
Ch	Chapter
Ch VS	Chaturvedasaramu
Dik Pra	Diksha Prakarana
EC	Epigrapia Carnatica
EHD	Early History of the Deccan (ed) Yazdani G
EI	Epigrapia Indica
EA	Epigraphia Andhrica
Gaz	Gazetteer
HAC	History of Andhra Country
HAS	Hyderabad Archaeological Series
HISI	Historical Inscriptions of South India
IAD	Inscriptions of Andhradesa
JAHRS	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society
KAR	Karnataka-Andhra Relations
LDC	Lingadharana Chandrika
LTP	Lives of Telugu Poets

MS Sarma	M Soma Sekhara Sarma
MPC or M P Charitra	Mallikarjuna Panditaradhya Charitra
MN	Mahabubnagar
Pid S	Piduparti Somanatha
Pra	Prakarana
PS	Palakuriki Somanatha
Sec	Section
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
SRKS	Sista Ramakrishna Sastri
SS	Sarvesvara Satakamu
STS	Sivatatvasaramu
Tel	Telugu
Va	Vacana
Vas	Vacanas
VR	V Rangachari
V	Verse
VV	Verses
VSV	Virasaivandhra Vanjmayamu

CONTENTS

* Diacritical marks are not used in the body of the thesis Hence an alphabetical list of words with diacritical marks is given at the end

CHAPTER I

VIRASAIVISM IN ANDHRA

(C 1100 A D to C 1323 A D)

Introductory

The scope of the subject

In the present thesis, an attempt is made to study the origin and development of Virasaivism in Andhra, (roughly corresponding to the present Andhra Pradesh) both from its historical and religious aspects, from the beginning of the 12th century A D to the end of the first quarter of the 14th century A D

The Virasaiva movement in Andhra during this period does not appear to be a replica of the movement led by Basava in Karnataka [1] The flood of Vacana literature that was composed during the period of the movement in Karnataka is ample evidence to show that it became a mass movement and that it captured the attention of the common man This sort of atmosphere was not to be seen in Andhra The main organisers of the movement in Andhra happened to be great Brahmin scholars, well-versed in the Vedas

Upanisads and other Brahmin scriptures Their followers also would appear to be mostly Brahmins and the movement did not appear to be a widespread one in Andhra in the period of our study

Virasaivism

From the available information both from the epigraphs and literature belonging to the period, Palakuriki Somanatha, C later half of 13th and first quarter of the 14th, was the first poet to use the word Virasaiva in association with the tenets of the religion like Diksha, Pranalinga and so on [2] According to him, Mallikarjuna Pandita was the chief organiser of the movement in Andhra and he is said to have lived more or less as a close contemporary of Basava i e from the beginning of 12th Century to very near its end According to Somanatha, Sripati Pandita lived a little earlier[3] than Mallikarjuna and prepared the ground by propagating devotionalism He was called a Virasaiva by the later writers [4] So the study of the subject actually begins with Sripati Pandita who lived in the 12th century After Sripati and Mallikarjuna, Yadhavakkula Annamayya, whose known date is 1242,[5] preached some concepts of Virasaivism [6] During the later part of the 13th century and until the downfall of the Kakatiys,

Somanatha played a vital role in promoting the cause of Virasaivism Strictly speaking but for Somanatha's works, there would not have been any Virasaiva literature and it is the only source to reconstruct the history of Virasaivism during the period under study He was known to have left Andhra for Karnataka in his old age and that too before the downfall of the Kakatiyas.[7] With the exit of Somanatha, there was a big gap of nearly one and half centuries in the field of Virasaiva literature So the present study stops with Somanatha whose retirement coincides with an important phase of Andhra History viz , the conquest of the Andhra region by the Muslims To sum up, it can be said that the present study on the origins and development of Virasaivism focusses its attention mainly on the life and activities of the Pandits like Sripati and Mallikarjuna and Somanatha whose activities covered the period from about 1100 to 1323

Virasaivism and Aradhya Saivism

It is generally stated by most of the scholars[8] that Virasaivism in Andhra has two branches, ~~in the words of V Venkata Rao~~[8] 1) Non-Vedic school of Basava's line and 2) Pro-Vedic school or the Aradhya system The three Pandits are said to have been the originators and

propagators of the Aradhya line It is true that at present, the Brahmin followers of the religion are known as Aradhyas and non-Brahmin followers are known as the followers of Basava's school [9] But this distinction is not to be found in the writings of the period under study As mentioned earlier, in the writings of Somanatha, Mallikarjuna is mentioned as Virasaiva and described as subscribing to all the tenets of that religion So the subject is dealt with here under the name of Virasaivism Later on, his followers might have considered him as the founder of the Aradhya sect and it may well have been true At what stage the distinction between the Brahmin followers and the non-Brahmin followers of the religion came into existence, it is not possible to speak with certainty This is so because the non-Brahmin followers of Virasaivism did not produce writers like Mallikarjuna and Somanatha

Previous work on the subject

A good number of scholars have worked on the subject in the present century and the subject bristles with controversies [10] The arguments and counter-arguments fill volumes In the present thesis, all this literature is discussed in the light of original sources giving weight

to the views which appear to be more probable and nearer to the truth The conclusions are knit together chronologically and to this an account of the political and religious conditions that prevailed in the land during the period under study is prefixed This is intended to help the readers to appreciate the factors that made this religion take its shape and be propagated

The previous scholars

C P Brown[11] was the first scholar who showed interest in Virasaiva literature in Andhra He published an article on Jangama literature in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science in 1840 He dealt with Basavapuranamu and Sri M P Charitra and included some of the words from Basavapuranamu in his monumental Dictionary After a very long gap of nearly seventy-two years after Brown's writings, Virasaiva literature attracted the attention of Andhra scholars from 1912[12] onwards

Bandaru Tammayya[13]

Of the various scholars B Tammayya, who enjoyed the titles like Vimarsagresvara, Aitihasika samrat, Dharmabhusana and Saivasahitya Sarvabhouma is to be mentioned first Starting with an article on the necessity of

publishing the Virasaiva works like Basavapuranamu and Sri M P Charitra in Andhra Patrika, New year's issue of 1922, till late in his life, he was actively contributing articles on various aspects of this subject such as Somanatha's date and religion and also on problems connected with Sripati and Mallikarjuna His various articles on Somanatha have been collected in book form under the title of Palakuriki Somanatha kavi and the remaining articles are published in two volumes called Vyasavali

2 Komarraju Venkata Lakshmana Rao

He was the first scholar who discussed Mallikarjuna's religion in his introduction to Sivatatvasaramu which was published in Andhra Sahitya parishatpatrika in the year 1922

3 Veturu Prabhakara Sastri

He wrote an introduction to the first edition of Basavapuranamu in 1926 He was the first to express the view that Mallikarjuna Pandita was a Pasupata and that the earlier Aradhyas of Andhra were not lingadharis [14]

4 Chilukuru Narayana Rao

He discussed the various aspects of Somanatha's life

in his introduction to Sri M P Charitra in 1939 More or less in the same year, he contributed an article on Virasaiva Vangamayavatara discussing Somanatha's authorship of Sivatatvasaramu which was published in Prabuddha Karnataka (Kannada) in 1939 [15]

Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma

He published an article on Somanatha's date in the light of an inscription of Ambadeva of S 1212 in Bharati, of Feb 1945 This inscription is one of the strong evidences to determine the date of Somanatha [16]

Sista Ramakrishna Sastri

He discussed the various aspects of Mallikarjuna Pandita's and Somanatha's careers in Virasaiva literature in Telugu (1952)

Nidudavolu Venkata Rao

He discussed the different aspects of Somanatha's life in his introduction to Basavapuranamu (1952) and about Mallikarjuna Pandita in his introduction to Sivatatvasaramu (1968) and wrote about the date of Sripati Pandita in 'Sripati Panditudu' in the Lives of the Telugu Poets [17]

N Venkataramanayya

He has elucidated the dates of Sripati and Mallikarjuna Pandita and Somanatha, I agree with most of his findings And in some instances I have adduced additional evidence to support the same I have also suggested slight modifications of his views here and there [18]

T S Venkannaiah

He discussed vividly the religious aspects of Siva-tatvasaramu in an article 'Sivatatvasaramu' published in Prabuddha Karnataka [19]

Two theses on the subject

Dr J Chenna Reddy has written a thesis entitled The Influence of Virasaivism on Telugu Literature, in Telugu (1965, Mysore University) and A Veeresalingam has written a thesis on Palakuriki Somanatha and his works in Telugu (1968, Andhra University)

B S L Hanumantha Rao[20]

He is the latest writer on the subject According to him the popular view that the Kakatiyas were patrons of Virasaivism is not supported by facts I fully agree with

his arguments on this aspect

Division of the subject

The subject has been dealt with in five chapters including the present introductory chapter The second chapter deals with Sripati and the third and the fourth are on Mallikarjuna Pandita and the fifth on Palakuriki Somanatha

The Sources

Sanskrit

Srikarabhashyamu

In the preface to the work the name of the author has been given as Sripatipandita bhagavadpadacharya It was first published incompletely in the Telugu script in 1893 at Secunderabad [21] According to the editor's preface to that Telugu edition, Sripati pandita, the author of the Bhashya was identified with Sripati Pandita of Pandita-trayamu This work has been used to decide whether Sripati of Panditatraya was its author The internal evidence of the Bhashya does not support the view that Sripati of Panditatraya, who belonged to the 12th century could be its

author

Siddhanta Sikhamani

By Sivayogi Sivacharyulu with commentary in Telugu (original also published in the Telugu script) by Esvara Satyanarayana Sarma, 1961

The internal evidence in this work has been taken to examine the date of Srikarabhashyamu as the latter mentioned here and there some slokas from Siddhanta Sikhamani [22]

Telugu works

Sivatatvasaramu by Mallikarjuna Pandita

It is said to be the first Sátakamu in Telugu [23] It appears to be an incomplete work with 489 verses and the last line of the last verse also is gone This is the earliest work to mention the name of Basava, Bijjala and Madivalu Machayya [24] It is useful to know the nature of Mallikarjuna Pandita's teachings It has been discussed in detail in the fourth chapter - Mallikarjuna's religion in his own words Many lines of the verses of this work have been included in Sri Mallikarjuna Panditaradhya Charitra by Somanatha [25] So some scholars like Narayana Rao expressed

the view that Sivatatvasaramu might not be the work of Mallikarjuna [26] Narayana Rao argues that Somanatha being a great scholar wouldnt have copied from others So Somanatha must have composed it and attributed it to Mallikarjuna Pandita But however such a view does not appear to be sound Somanatha quoted many lines of slokas from various religious scriptures[27] as they are, in Sri M P Charitra and this is the reason for the verses from Sivatatvasaramu bodily finding their way in that work He must have done so with the idea of showing Mallikarjuna in his own words Mallikarjuna was described by Somanatha as the author of many works [28] But they are not available now

Sarvesvara Satakamu by Yadhavakkula Annamayya

This work with one hundred and thirty nine verses deals with the devotional aspect of Saivism and mentions the concepts of Jangama and Linga and the prominence of the Sivabhaktas [29]

The works of Somanatha

Anubhavásaramu

It appears to be his first work It contains 243 verses

It deals with the concepts of Guru, Linga and Jangama, Sivaprasada and guru-Linga-Jangama sthalas

Basavapuranamu

This is the first Purana composed on Basava It has been rendered into Kannada by Bhimakavi[30] in 1369 Many of the later writers like Piduparti Somanatha,[31] Mahadevakavi[32] following Somanatha's work, have written it in the form of verses - Padya Basavapuranamu The contents of the work have been discussed in the last chapter

Chaturveda Saramu

It mentions the word Virasaiva[33] in a broad sense Somanatha invokes[34] Madiraja, Allama, Sankaradasayya, Basava, Siddharamayya and so many bhaktas in the beginning and each verse ends in the name of Basavalinga The author mentions seven types of Saivism Saptavidha Saivamulu [35] as against the 'ten types of Saivism' Dasavidha Saivamulu[36] mentioned in some Agamas The most important aspect of the work is its mention that one who wears linga should not be cremated after his death and the pollutions of death etc should not be observed by the Sivabhaktas [37]

Sri Mallikarjuna Panditaradhya Charitra

It consists of five Prakaranas namely Diksha, Puratana Vada, Mahima and Parvata It is the most important work to trace the Virasaiva movement in Andhra It is a mine of information for not only Virasaivism and other religions and philosophies[38] but so many other subjects For example it deals at length with many ragas and gamakas of classical music [39]

Epigraphs[40]

The inscription of Yuddhamalla II found at Bezawada and the inscription of Pallaketa also at Bezawada and a few inscriptions throwing light on Anantapala connected with the subject have been discussed in the II chapter

An inscription dated S 1327 found at Kondavidu mentioning one Srigiriayya as the grandson of Mallikarjuna Pandita, another at Sangamesvaramu dated S 1109 mentioning the name of Mallikarjuna Pandita, and two more inscriptions mentioning the name of Mallikarjuna Pandita are made use of while discussing the historicity and date of Mallikarjuna The Malkapuram Inscription of 1261 is another important inscription to know the religion of the Kakatiya rulers especially Ganapatideva and Rudramadevi Some scholars have

wrongly considered Visvesvara Sivadeva of Golakimatha mentioned in the inscription as a Virasaiva But the whole inscription testifies to the privileged position enjoyed by the Golaki Acharyas in the Kakatiya kingdom[41] and it can be also said in the light of the inscription that 'Virasaivism' is not mentioned either by name or by the concepts [42]

The political condition of Andhra during the period

This brief sketch of the political conditions in pre-Vijayanagar Andhra is mainly intended as a background for the study of the growth of Virasaivism in Andhra Towards the beginning of the 12th century, the Andhra country was parcelled out into many petty kingdoms and the most important of them were the Kakatiyas of Orugallu or Warangal in the Telengana region and the chiefs of Velanadu with their capital at Sanadavolu[43] in the coastal region of Andhra The Kakatiyas were the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas and the rulers of Velanadu were the feudatories of the Chola-Chalukyas In the first quarter of the 12th century, Vikramaditya VI, the Western Chalukya monarch, renewed[44] his raids to the Andhra region and from 1115[45] onwards he could secure his hold in the Guntur region and from that year and from that part he steadily extended his conquests into interior Andhra Towards 1118 Vikrama Chola

the Viceroy of Vengi and son of Kulottunga Chola left for the Chola kingdom[46] thus giving enough opportunity for the Western Chalukyas to extend their power Thus from 1115 to 1126[47] and after that with short intervals upto 1135, the Andhra region experienced the rule of the W Chalukyas [48] Anantapala was the governor of Vengi under Vikramaditya VI and it was in the court of the former that Sripati is said to have flourished [49] After the death of Vikramaditya VI, the feudatory powers like the rulers of Velanadu transferred their allegiance to the Cholas and helped their cause in driving out the Western Chalukya forces in 1135 from Andhra As a reward for the great help rendered by the Velanadu rulers in this task, the Chola monarchs appointed the latter as their deputies in Vengi [50] From then onwards, the Velanadu chiefs conquered much of the coastal region and extended their power from Mahendragiri on the North-east, Srisailam and Tripurantakam on the west to Kalahasti on the South-east Their prominent monarchs of the period were Choda I (1109-1136-37), Gonka II (1137-1161-62), Choda II (1163-1180), Gonka III (1181-1185) and Prithvisvara (1186-1212) [51] It was Choda II who according to Somanatha, summoned Mallikarjuna to the great religious debate organised at Sanadavolu to prove the greatness of latter's religion [52] With Prithvisvara the

main line came to an end and the Velanadu kingdom was annexed to the Kakatiya kingdom.

From the time of Prola II (1115-1150) the Kakatiyas began to expand their power Towards the end of his reign, i e 1150, he was known to have inflicted a defeat on Taila III[53] (1150-1162) the very crest-jewel of the Chalukyas and probably in the same year, he appears to have started his raids into the Velanadu kingdom The title enjoyed by the Choda II the ruler of Velanadu as Kakatiprolanirdahan[54] suggests that Prola II met with defeat and death at the hands of Choda the then crown prince Kakati Rudradeva (1150-1195) and Ganapatideva (1199-1262) renewed their raids into the Velanadu kingdom until it was finally ~~defeated and~~ annexed to the Kakatiya kingdom in 1212 Thus under Ganapatideva most of the Telugu-speaking areas[55] were brought under the sway of the Kakatiyas

The last two rulers of the Kakatiyas were Rudradevi (1259-1289)[56] and Prataparudra (1290-1323)[57] and it was during Prataparudra's time, that the Muslim invasions overwhelmed the Kakatiya kingdom The first invasion took place as early as 1303, though it was said to have been an unsuccessful one The second invasion took place in 1310 when Prataparudra had to sue for peace but finally he was

defeated and captured by the Muslim force in 1323 bringing about the downfall of the Kakatiyas

The religious conditions in Andhra (1100-1323)

An attempt is made here to sketch the religious conditions that prevailed in Andhra when Virasaivism was being shaped and propagated From the writings of Mallikarjuna Pandita and Somanatha a number of religious sects are known to have flourished in their times Mallikarjuna criticises Jains, Buddhists and Charvakas [58] He criticised at length the Advaita philosophy [59] According to Somanatha Mallikarjuna successfully debated with a number of religious groups like the Buddhists, Jains, Pancharatras, Vedavadulu (the upholders of the supremacy of the Vedas) Karmavadulu (the upholders of Karma Siddhanta) Kalavadulu (the supporters of fatalism) and various other philosophic schools like Advaita, Sankhya, Yoga etc [60]

From the writings of Mallikarjuna and Annamayya, it appears that visiting Tirthas, taking holy baths and making gifts (danas) became common features of the religious life of the people [61] The epigraphical evidence in this regard very much corroborates the above accounts Let us see the position of these different religions of

the period one after the other

Buddhism

The picture of Buddhism does not seem to have been very bright Only stray references are to be found here and there to Buddhism and Buddhism of the day was not in its original form and the Buddha was looked upon as a god and an Avatara of Vishnu

Buddha an Avatara of Vishnu

The fact that the Buddha was looked upon as God and one of the Avataras of Vishnu is attested by both literary and epigraphical evidence of the period under study Somanatha[62] described Mallikarjuna to have attacked the Buddhists and Pancharatras, in the court of Velanadu saying that there is little difference between the Buddha and Vishnu Nīvu kēvala vishnu nijasamayudavugāvu, Bouddhudavu nikkamu'[63] To the Vaishnavas he says that they are not the actual followers of Vishnu but of the Buddha and says that Vishnu had taken the Avatara of the Buddha at the order of Siva "Puraharu nājna Hariyu sākshātbuddhundai yunde Bouddhudu vaishnavundu, mun vaishnavundu Bouddhundu It appears from this description of Somanatha that the

worship of the Buddha was prevalent during that period He writes that the Buddhist guru of Choda (Choda II the ruler of Velanadu) used to go to Buddhalaya[64] and prostrate[65] before the idol of the Buddha The name 'Buddhalaya' instead of Bouddharama and the mention of the idol of the Buddha there is clear evidence to show that Buddhism of the period was not in its original form

It is known from the epigraphs that worshipping the Buddha and constructing temples and making gifts to his idol in the fashion of the Hindu gods became a common feature of Buddhism of that period [66] An inscription from Abbur dated in the year 1182 records the gifts made by Kota Ketaraja of Dharanikota and his courtesans to the Buddha They worshipped the Buddha under the impression that he was an Avatara of Vishnu Another inscription of about the same time records the installation of a lamp to Buddhadeva at Amaravati The Bekkallu inscription of the Kakatiya period mentions that a certain Mallaraddi built temples for the Buddha and other gods The Karimnagar inscription of Gangadhara Mantri records the construction of the temple at Hanumakonda for the Buddha Thus it is evident that the Buddha was looked upon as a god and an Avatara of Vishnu in the period of our study

Jainism[67]

The position of Jainism was not so bad as that of Buddhism It was known to have flourished till the end of the 11th century But from the 12th century onwards it appears that it had to face opposition at the hands of the Saivas but in spite of the conflict it continued to have considerable hold at a few places like Penukonda, Hampi and Adoni till it received a severe blow by the Muslim invasion which crippled it for ever

It was under the later Chalukyas that Jainism in Andhra enjoyed a glorious career The town Potlakere (identical with Potalceruvu or Patanaceruvu near Hyderabad) which served the later Chalukyas as a temporary capital before Kalyana was built was said to have contained in these days five hundred Jain vasadis From the writings of Somanatha it is known that Devara Dasayya, a devotee of Siva destroyed seven hundred Jain Vasadis at Potalcheruvu Devara Dasayya bhavajantankuda daivambanuchu Jaina tarkambu nuki Potlacheruvunanu vasadu lennurunu vrachchi vaipinchi vesa Jina pratimala vitatatamadi "[68] (While attacking the Jains Devaradasayya announced that Siva only is the God and saying that, he destroyed the Jain vasadis

and shrines) During the reign of Vikramaditya VI many Jain establishments - were known to have received patronage from the Chalukya princes and their vassals Bodhan, Konakondla Ujjili, Puduru, Bairanipalli, Kolanupaka, Pedakadumur, Togarakunta and Vardhamanapura, became prosperous Jain Tirthas Anantapala also was said to have been favourably disposed towards the 'false' religion Jainism

Of the many subordinate ruling families that came into existence after the fall of the western Chalukya power, the Kakatiyas and Nolamba Pallavas were patrons of Jainism The early members of the Kakatiyas are stated to be Jains of the Digambara sect They built the famous Padmakshi temple at Anmakonda Betana the minister of Kakati Prola I and his wife Mailama were Jains and Kadalalaya vasadi at Anmakonda was built by Mailama The huge Tirthankara images on that hill, which can be seen even today, are evidence of the glorious career of Jainism at Anumakonda According to the Local Records,[68a] the Jains were known to have been persecuted in the Kakatiya kingdom from the time of Kakati Rudra and in the time of Ganapatideva But it would appear that Jainism was still a living faith at Anmakonda even during the time of Prataparudra

From the writings of Somanatha, it can be said that some Saiva devotees had taken it as a great achievement if they defeated and destroyed Jains But it is doubtful whether all those devotees were Virasaivas [69] Somanatha mentioned all the bhaktas[70] of Siva without any distinction and some of them were obviously not Virasaiva in the true sense of the word

Puranic theism

It was the accepted religion of most of the people in the period of our study Describing the religious conditions of Andhra during the period, Vaidehi writes that the religion professed and practised by the people of the day was not Vedic religion but Puranic Hinduism [71] Like Buddhism, Vedic religion or Brahminism appears to have lost its original form The emphasis was transferred from performing the Vedic rituals or sacrifices to making gifts or Danas to the temples [72] But still it can be said that reverence to Vedas and glamour for sacrifices were still present The people used to make gifts to temples with the hope of getting merit as they would get by performing Asvamedha or any other sacrifice [73] Sometimes the act of discharging certain types of duties also was

considered to be as sacred as that of celebrating the sacrifices The inscription of Iddamalla states that those who would take care to disallow non-saivas into the matha that was attached to the temple of Kartikeya would get as much benefit or Punya as they would derive by performing one Asvamedha sacrifice [74] Mahabharata rendered into Telugu by Nannayya was given the status of Veda and thus it became Panchama Veda 'the fifth Veda' [75] The Saiva leaders of the period like Mallikarjuna Pandita and Somanatha could not give up their reference to Vedas even though they did not accept their supremacy over their personal deity, Siva And they strove to establish their faith on the authority of the Vedas and other Brahmin literature and Puranas [76] The Brahmins became the custodians of the Vedas and Vedic learning was respected and promoted by the rulers as well as the religious teachers of the day The Golaki school played[77] an important role in this sphere Somanatha describes himself as Chaturveda Parangatuda[78] 'scholar in four Vedas' Even Mallikarjuna appears to have been a great Vedic scholar Thus as the prominence of the Vedic rituals received a set-back the Puranic theism or Hinduism came to prominence The worship of personal Gods like Siva, Kumaraswami[79] and many local deities like Mailara[80] became very prominent and temple-

building and making gifts became very common The worship of personal gods resulted in the formation of different sects like the Saivas, Vaishnavas and the Smarthas

The Smartha system[81]

The Smartha system appears to have been the outcome of a great compromising nature of the organisers of the system who introduced the worship of Panchayatana i e the worship of the five deities - Vishnu-Siva-Surya-Ganapati and Ambika The most favourite deity of the above mentioned five deities would be given the central place Even before Kumarila and Sankara, an attempt was made at a healthy blending of three prominent paths or Margas - the Jnana, Karma and Bhakti - which are the supporting pillars of the Hindu religion, by the great Sutrakara Apastamba and Mimamsakara Jaimini But Kumarila and Sankara appear to have given lesser place to Bhakti - the former gave prominence to Karma-marga and the latter to Jnana-marga This Jnanamarga of Sankara was attacked so much by Mallikarjuna Pandita who laid the main emphasis on Bhaktimarga which could be followed easily by common people Of this Hinduism or Puranic theism, two important religious groups - the devotees of Siva and Vishnu are to be mentioned as important divisions

Vaishnavism

During this period, Vaishnavism was not a very predominant religion like Saivism It was in its infant stage We come across the mention of some temples dedicated to Vishnu in the name of Kesava It has already been discussed that the 'Buddha' assumed the form of Vishnu and the worship of the Buddha was to certain extent prevalent [82] Vaishnavism[83] is said to have entered Andhra very early and many of the Andhra ruling families were said to have shown preference to Vaishnavism But it was only in the 12th century, with the advent of Ramanuja that Vaishnavism became somewhat active in Andhra Ramanuja attempted at bringing a compromise between three existing sects of Vaishnavites - the Vaikhanasa, Pancaratras and Srivaishnavas It was the Pancaratras that were mentioned by Somanatha as one of the religious groups that attended the great religious debate in the time of Mallikarjuna During his tour all over the land, Ramanuja appears to have made Tirupati as his centre to spread his religion in Andhra The expressive term "Tirupati Srivaishnava raksha" 'Tirupati the protecting place of Srivaishnavism', has been mentioned in many of the inscriptions of Srikurmam which was another Vaishnavite centre Thus it appears that Tirupati became

the centre of Vaishnavism and from there it spread to other parts of Andhra But however it can be said that Srivaishnavism was popular in Andhra at certain places like Bapatla even before Ramanuja and with Ramanuja's efforts it became still more popular It is said that the old Bhagavatism underwent a change at the hands of Ramanuja and he attempted a compromise between Brahminism and Bhagavatism He insisted on caste rules in food and other matters but he introduced certain practices by which Sudras could be converted into Vaishnavism The Pancamas were given the privilege of visiting certain temples once a year He preached two different ways of attaining Moksha to the two classes of people - Bhakti to the upper castes and prapatti to the lower classes The Neo-Saivism preached by Mallikarjuna in Andhra and Basava in Karnataka greatly differed in this respect from Ramanuja They advocated Bhakti to all the classes They did not insist on caste rules Even Mallikarjuna Pandita, who showed his sympathy to Brahminism, did not make any distinction as between the castes of the Bhaktas whom he treated as all alike He preached that even the outcastes, if they happened to be devotees would be equal to high caste people Probably influenced by these Saivite leaders Brahmanayudu of Palnadu a staunch follower of Vaishnavism encouraged inter-caste

dining called capa-kudu (mat-rice) i e sitting together on a mat to have the food at inter-caste marriages He was more or less a contemporary of Mallikarjuna and the Vaishnavism propagated by Brahmanayudu is called as Vira-vaishnavism, which seems to be an imitation of Virasaivism The places like Macherla, Mangalagiri, Srikakulam, Simha-chalam, Srikurmam were important centres of Vaishnavism in the coastal region of Andhra but no such centres were found in the Telengana region It is known from the inscriptions of these places that these centres enjoyed the royal patronage from the later rulers of the Chalukya-Chola line and their vassals in Andhra like Choda I, Gonka I and Gonka II But no prominent Vaishnavacharya excepting Ramanuja is to be found during the period like the Saiva Acharyas who were to be found in good numbers Thus when compared to the position of Saivism, from the later half of the 13th century to the downfall of the Kakatiyas, Vaishnavism, can definitely be said to have occupied a lesser position [84]

Saivism

Saivism was the widespread religion of the day This period was its hey-day Three important causes have been suggested by Vaidehi[85] for the glowing career of Saivism then

1 It was customary for the people to build temples dedicated to Siva in memory of their ancestors or patrons and sometimes for the merit of the surviving rulers also[86] and name the temple after them

In support of this view, we come across a good number of examples in the contemporary epigraphs Ganapatideva installed God Mahadevesvara in the name of his father Mahadeva in S 1170 [87] One Mailama Devi the daughter of Annayya Maharaja of Viriyala built temples of Mallikeswara Deva, Anneswara Deva and Aitheswara Deva for the merit of herself, her father and her mother respectively and also twenty-one Sivalayas for the merit of her kith and kin in S 1172 (1250) [88]

2 The influence of the Cholas of the South, where Saivism was very popular then, helped Saivism to become more popular in Andhra Raja Raja Narendra was a great devotee of Bhimeswara of Draksharama[89] and a follower of the Saivagamas [90] The influence of Saivism of the South can also be seen to a great extent on the great Saivite leaders of the period in Andhra like Mallikarjuna and Somanatha

3 The part played by the various Saiva teachers or Acharyas, who were known for their piety, scholarship and

welfare activities like promoting the cause of education, was another important reason in furthering the cause of Saivism of that period.

1 The Saiva temples

Bhimeswara temple of Draksharama

We come across the mention of a good number of prosperous Saiva temples[91] that became the centres of the religious activities of the people of the day in the contemporary inscriptions Of the numerous temples, of that period, mention may be made of some of the most important temples like the Bhimeswara temple at Draksharama Even today it attacts a good number of pilgrims Mallikarjuna Pandita's father was the presiding priest of the temple [92] We find a number of inscriptions[93] in this temple issued by the Chalukyas, Chiefs of Velanadu, Kakatiyas and others It was known as one of the Pancharamas[94] of the Telugu country

The Malleswara temple at Bezawada

This temple contains a good number of epigraphs put up by different rulers[95] during this period attesting to its holiness According to the inscription set up by king Pallaketa[96] (it is an undated record but was assigned to

the time of Kakatiya rulers Ganapati Deva and Rudrama Devi) Sripati Pandita performed the famous 'Fire miracle in this temple

In one of the inscriptions of Bezawada, one Madayadeva is said to have performed penance at Bezawada which was described as Dakshinakasi in the same record [97]

The Mallikarjuna temple at Srisaila

The temple of Mallikarjuna at Srisaila became the greatest religious centre in this period and a meeting place of the Saiva devotees of the three neighbouring lands - Andhra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and thus served as connecting link of the religions and cultures of these lands From the writings of Somanatha, it appears that Maharashtrians also used to visit this place In the chapter on Srisaila Parvata, he describes the different ways of singing of Andhra, Kannada Maharashtra and Tamil devotees while they ascended Mount Srisaila [98]

2 The influence of the South

Saivagamas became popular during this period Mention has already been made of Rajaraja Narendra's knowledge of the Saivagamas.[99] We find the constant mention of the

Saivagamas in 'Kumarasambhava' of the king-poet Nannechoda Though the date of the poet has not yet been settled, it can be said that he belonged to our period [100] He describes that Parvati, who was doing penance for Siva, to have received diksha in accordance with Saivagamas and this is said to have been associated with 'Snana, archana, homa and nitya-karma She was described as observing it by doing 'Pranayama, Pratyahara, dhyana, dharana, japa, samadhi' which are known as Sadangayoga [101] Siva who comes to Parvati in the guise of Jangama Mallikarjuna[102] has been described as proficient in Saivagamas and to have been reading them Parvati receives Him with all the formality prescribed in the Saivagamas Visvesvara Sivadeva of Malkapur inscription was a ocean of Saivagamas[103] besides being a great Vedic scholar One Kondabhupa's son Rama, who was the lord of Konduru, was described in a record of S 1095 (1173) to have been devoted to Saivadharma[104] and was known to have made a gift to the temple of Rajarajesvara

3 Saivacharyas and Mathas

We find the mention of Saiva teachers in a good number in the contemporary epigraphs Most of the names of these teachers belonging to the 11th century invariably

end with the suffix 'rasi' or Pandita and the teachers that flourished in the later Kakatiya period are known mostly with the suffix 'Acharya' We come across the names of Pancharasi (1051),[105] Somesvararasi (1054)[106] Brahmarasi (1056),[107] Somarasi (1086)[108] and Dharmendra-rasi (1098)[109] - teachers as Mahasthanadhipatis of the Brahmesvara temple at Alampur One Ramesvararasi Pandita (1125)[110] was known as Sthanadhipati of Draksharama temple Lokabharana Pandita (1060),[111] Sadyojata Pandita (1075),[112] Suresvara Pandita (1058),[113] Vyomasiva Pandita (1082)[114] also are mentioned in the inscriptions In the early period of the Kakatiyas, Beta II was known to be the disciple of one Ramesvara Pandita (1096) Beta's sons, Durga and Prola II, too appear to have been the disciples of Ramesvara Pandita [115] These teachers were well known for their piety and scholarship It cannot be specifically said whether the above mentioned Saiva teachers were Kalamukhas or Pasupatas though scholars have said that these earlier teachers were Kalamukhas and the later Saivacharyas of the Golaki school were Pasupatas [116] It is difficult to distinguish one from the other as the principles and philosophy of the Kalamukhas are not clear-cut. Sometimes, these teachers were described with the

terminology applicable to both the Kalamukhas and Pasupatas For example, Ramesvara Pandita of the Kakatiya times was described as the head of the Silamatha[117] of the Kalamukhas on Srisaila and also known as the master of the doctrine of Lakulisvaragama[118] The Pasupata system was known by the name of Lakulisvara So Ramesvara Pandita can be said to be a Pasupata as well as a Kalamukha But still we find the separate mention of these two names in the inscriptions of the period One of the inscriptions of Tripurantakam dated 1290 mentions both the Kalamukhas and the Pasupatas[119]

Besides these two sects we find many other sects also mentioned in the epigraphs The Malkapuram inscription mentions Pasupata, Kalanana, Sivasasana and Saiva[120] The above mentioned Tripurantakam inscription cites the names of Viravrata, Mahesvara Saiva Mahavrata, Yamila and Bhairava[121] Hanumantha Rao[122] writes that the Viravratas and Mahavratas might be identical with the Virasaivas and Kapalikas respectively The Mahavratas are usually identified with the Kapalikas But Viravratas cannot be equated with Virasaivas unless the word is associated with the Virasaiva tenets[123] As has been mentioned by the same scholar, it is not possible to identify other sects like

Yamila We do not find any specific system of philosophy or practices of the others sects also like Saiva, Sivasana, Mahesvara, Bhairava etc cited in the above mentioned inscriptions

The Golaki school

From the time of Ganapatideva down to the fall of the Kakatiyas, the Golaki school enjoyed the predominant patronage of the Kakatiyas Visvesvara Sivacharya was the Dikshaguru of Ganapatideva [124] The earliest reference to the Acharya has been found in an inscription dated 1243 [125] By 1252, he was known to have become the head of the Golaki Matha He built a town called Visvanathapuram after himself and excavated a tank and gifted to the God at Tripurantakam It was in the time of Rudradevi that the village of Mandadam was granted to Visvesvara on 25th March 1261 in fulfilment of the long cherished wish of her father To that village she added another village called Velagapudi and these two villages were united by Visvesvara and named Visvesvara Golaki [126] In this village, he constructed a temple of Visvesvara, a monastery and an Agrahara and Choultry He established a monastery called Suddha Saiva matha He consecrated several lingas called after his name at various places and provided lands

for their maintenance He established Upalayamatha at Kasisvarapura, another matha in his name at Mandrakuta and another matha at Elesvaram

Other Saiva mathas

The epigraphs of the period mention the following Saiva mathas Kallumatha,[127] Ganamatha,[128] Bringimatha,[129] Silamatha,[130] Arsa or Arsi Matha,[131] Edamatha[132] and so on Some of these mathas appear to have been allotted with certain duties towards the worship of the presiding deity At Srisaila, Kallumatha was allotted a village to attend to the mid-day needs of Lord Mallikarjuna [133] From one inscription dated S 1235 at Srisaila, it is known that many Mahesvaras were living in the Ganamatha [134] Thus the number of Mathas increased towards the end of the Kakatiya period Some of these Mathas originated from the Kalamukha sect and later on were occupied by the Golaki school All these Mathas were not established by religious teachers only Common people of the day also showed a desire in establishing Mathas and constructing temples [135] Thus the predominant position that the Sivacharyas enjoyed in the court of the Kakatiyas, and the good number of Sivacharyas and innumerable Saiva temples and Mathas that were erected both by the rulers and

the common people, undoubtedly show Saivism in its flying colours This however does not mean that either the rulers or the common place were exclusive followers of Saivism As has been seen in the earlier pages, they extended their patronage to other religions also but when compared to all other faiths, Saivism appears to be a leading religion of the day Out of this background, devotional Saivism or Neo-Saivism, which laid emphasis on the pure devotional aspect, emerged and this Saivism was entirely different from the Saivism which can be said to be traditional, that prevailed during the period It is this neo-Saivism which was transformed into Virasaivism

CHAPTER I

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 I have used Basava as his name as this has found favour with Somanatha

2 See Chs III and V

3 Though Somanatha described that Sripati Pandita flourished earlier than the two, Sripati appears to have lived as a close contemporary of Mallikarjuna and Basava See Sec'Date of Sripati' in Ch II

4 See Ch II and Sec on 'Sripati in the later writers'

5 Most of the dates in this thesis are in A D and hence I have omitted the use of A D as a suffix to the dates Where other than Xian ~~eras~~ eras are used, they have been indicated

6 See Sec on "The religious concepts of Annamayya", Ch V

7 According to the account given by Pid Somanatha in Basavapuranamu (B P), discussed under "The date of Somanatha" Ch V

8 Venkata Rao N Intro to Sivatatvasaramu (STS) Hyderabad, 1968, p 47

9 There are many sub-sects and until very recent years

there were no matrimonial alliances between them

Note The Aradhyas though they wear linga, do not mix with the non-Brahmin followers of Basava

10 For an elaborate discussion on this subject see, (1) Tammayya - P S Kavi Anantapuramu, 1966, and an article (art) 'P Somanathudeppativadu" in Parisodhana Aug-Nov 1955, pp 9-36 (2) Venkataramanayya, P Somanathudeppativadu Chennapuri (Madras) 1955

11 (1) Chella Radhakrishna Sarma "Virasaiva Vāngmayamu-Vidvāmsula sēva" Ibid p 51

(2) M A L (Pen-name) "Somanathuni rachanala parichayamu" Ibid p 38 f n 2

12 According to "M A L " the works of Somanatha were published thus (1) Sri M P Cha was published for the first time by Saivadharmavardhani grandhamala, Orugallu 1912 (2) Another ed of the same from Visakhapatnam edited by Pasapula Nagayayogi and Nidadavolu Sundaram Pantulu, 1914 Ibid p 42 f n 1

(3) Anubhavasaramu Pub by Gangapattanamu Subrahmanya Devara 1916 Ibid p 38

13 The details collected from his works and Sviya charitra, Kakinada, 1972

14 These views are discussed in IV and V Chs

15 Discussed under STS in the Sec on Sources in the present Ch

16 For details see under Somanatha's date Ch V

17 These various aspects are discussed at concerned places later

18 Anantapala's rule in Andhra and the date of Mallikarjuna Ch II and III respectively

19 I came to know of it after I finished writing the religious aspects of STS My guide G S Dikshit explained the views of T S Venkannayya See also Ed M R Sakhare Intro to Lingadharana Chandrika - by Nandi Kesvara, Belgaum pp 405-407 I find much similarity between his and my views

20 Religion in Andhra (Guntur, 1973) pp 291-92

21 Details given by C Hayavadana Rao Intro to Srikarabhashyam Vol I, 1936 Bangalore, p 9

22 Discussed under Sripati Pandita and Srikarabhashyam Ch II

23 (1) According to Venkata Rao M Pandita composed STS in Kannada also and the former quoted some verses (VV) from 726-740 rendered from Kannada to Telugu In Telugu, only 489 VV are extant Intro to STS p 4 and pp 1-3 supplementary

(2) Venkannayya wrote that, according to the writings of Narasimhacharya, Tel STS was translated into Kannada in 1550 But the translator's name is not known 'STS" Prabuddha Karn op cit

24 VV 441-443 and V 440

25 (1) Srutibahyambulu gavuna satatambunu Jaina Bouddha Charvakula V 73 STS Srutibahyambu Jaina Bouddhambu, Vada Pra p 586

(2) Gajasastrameriginantane gajadhirohanamu seyaga vachchune ? V 243 STS Dharagajasastra vetlala Ketlu vachchu naraya gajadhirohanamu seyanga ? Vada Pra 570

26 "Virasaiva Vanjmayavatara" Prabuddha Karnataka 1936, pp 7-8

27 "Tava Sriyam maruto marjayanta rudra yatte Janima Charu Chitram ' Riksamhita Virabhakti sthalachittulai 'maruto marjayanta' nasruti janina 'rudrayatte janima charuchitra' manade Diksha Pra p 46 C Narayana Rao Intro MPC p 165

28 Dakshadhvarambu, Vyasastakamu, Ganadambaramu Sarabhambu, Srutipanchagadyamulu, Rudramahima and so on Vada Pra MPC pp 512-513 Lingodbhavagadya, Mahima Pra Ibid p 23 Amarashtakamu, p 96

29 See "Religious concepts of Annamayya", Ch V

30 In some details, Kannada B P differs from Somanatha's B P For ex according to Somanatha, Basava did not order Jagadeva to kill Bijjala But according to Bhimakavi, Basava ordered Jagadeva before he left Kalyana

31 His account of Somanatha, is very valuable in deciding the latter's date

32 See for more details Ch II

33 V 87

34 VV 3, 4, 5

35 V 290

36 Kāranāgamamu quoted by Tammayya, Vyāsāvali P II Kakinada 1969, pp 128-29

37 VV 161 and 300

38 Advaita, Yoga, Charvaka, Pancharatra, Bauddha Jain etc Vada Pra Ibid p 553 ff

39 Parvata Pra Ibid pp 443-459

40 All the epigraphs mentioned here, are discussed at the relevant places

41 This is one of the reasons to say that the Kakatiyas did not patronise Virasaivism M S Sarma and Venkataramanayya, keeping in view the flourishing conditions

of the Golaki school, stated that Virasaivism of Basava school did not flourish as widely in the Telugu country during the Kakatiya period as the Golaki school 'The Kakatiyas' The Early History of the Deccan (EHD) Parts VII and XI Ed by G Yazdani Oxford, 1960, p 711

42 The Malkapur ins SII X No 395 1 142 mentions different Saiva sects, but not Virasaivas

43 It is mentioned as Chandavolu or Tsandavolu in other works

44 V R II Godavari 160 Also see Rama Rao M Karnataka-Andhra Relations, Dharwar, 1974 pp 1 and 37

45 700 of 1920 R Sewell, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, (HISI) (ed) S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras, 1932 p 97

46 Ibid

47 Anantapala's rule over Andhra in Ch II

48 By about 1129 Somesvara III was known to have been ruling over Palnadu Taluk of Guntur District V R II Guntur 509 596 of 1909 Kumara Tailapa son of Vikramaditya VI, ruled over Kandurunadu from 1110 to 1137 Parabrahma Sastri, JAHRS Vol XXXVI Part-I, 1975-76 p 11 and passim Rama Rao M KAR, pp 31-33

49 See 'The Historicity and the date of Sripati' Ch II

50 E I IV pp 32-54

51 V Yasodadevi,'The H A C ' A D 1000-1500 JAHRS XVIII 1947-48 pp 33-110

52 See 'The life and activities of Mallikarjuna , Ch III

53 Venkataramanayya, N (Ed) 'Bayyaram Inscription' ᵀP Andhrica-I, 1969 pp 71-75

[redacted] According to P B Desai, Taila III the W Calukya ruler was defeated by Prola II in 1155 Basavesvara and his Times Dharwar 1968, p 33 But in the light of the above mentioned record the date of Prola's victory over Tailapa can not be accepted and it is now known that Taila that was defeated by Prola was ~~identified with~~ Kumara Tailapa of Kanduru nadu and it was between the years 1137 and 1141 Parabrahma Sastri, op cit Venkata Ramanayya and M S Sarma and Rama Rao M EHD Part IX p 582 and K A R p 44 respectively

54 SII IV No 1242

55 Hanumantha Rao p 23

56 P V Parabrahma Sastri "Chandupatla rock Ins of S 1211" Bharati May 1974, pp 4-6

57 Ed G Yazdani "The Kakatiyas of Warangal EHD pp 642-657

58 STS V 73

59 Ibid VV 31-66

60 MPC Vada Pra pp 523-607

61 These two leaders preached that the devotion to Siva and visiting Sivabhaktas were greater than those religious activities

62 MPC Vada Pr pp 578-590

63 Ibid pp 585-586

64 MPC Mahima Pr pp 9 and 11

65 Ibid

66 Hanumantha Rao p 131

67 See Hanumantha Rao Ch on Jainism

68 MPC Vada Pr pp 590-1

68a Traditional accounts of many of the villages of the Andhra country and some of the ruling dynasties of ancient times have been preserved to us in what are now known as the Mackenzie Manuscripts and Local Records, housed in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras, M S Sarma, p 12

69 Devara Dasayya is said to have installed linga called Uttaresvara at Potlacheruvu where he is said to have destroyed the Jaina establishments For Virasaivas, installation of Linga or worship of the installed linga is not approved So he might not have been a Virasaiva

70 For e g Ekantada Ramayya, Kannappa and many Saiva Nayanars who were not Virasaivas were paid tributes by Somanatha

71 Smt Vaidehi Krishnamurthy, The Social and Economic Conditions of Eastern Deccan AD 1000-1250 Hyderabad 1970 p 31

72 These are said to be some of the important aspects of Puranic religion Hanumantha Rao p 124 A good number of ins of the contemporary period testify to those activities

73 Hanumantha Rao p 206

74 Discussed under the date of Sripati Pandita Ch II

75 This is attributed to the influence of the Cholas See Vaidehi p 195

76. See "The religion of Somanatha's Mallikarjuna Ch III and 'Somanatha's Virasaivism' Ch V

77 Malkapur ins of 1261 op cit It records the activities of Visvesvara Sivacharya in promoting Vedic learning

78 Palakuriki Somanathumdanaga velayuvādanu Chaturvēdaparaguda MPC Diksha Pr p 15

79 We find many inscriptions of the contemporary period in the name of God Kumaraswami of Chebrolu (1) Chagi king Pola Raja's S 1152 SII X 275, another record (2) by the son-in-law of a minister of Velanadu Gonka II S 1075 SII VI 101

80 (1) The worship of god Mailara is described in Vallabhamatya's Kridabhiramamu Madras 1960 pp 26-27

(2) An ins of S 1190 at Vaddamgunta belonging to the reign of Kakati Rudradeva registers a gift to Abhinava Mailaradeva 240 of 1935-36 M Rama Rao The inscriptions of Andhradesa Vol II (unpublished)

81 Hanumantha Rao pp 203-205

82 See Sec on Buddhism in this Ch

83 Mostly from Hanumantha Rao, Ch on Vaishnavism

84 Hanumantha Rao expressed his own doubts regarding the popular view that Saivism was the most predominant religion in Andhra about the time of the Muslim invasions op cit pp 259-60

85 Ibid pp 194-196

86 M Rama Rao S 1145-16 of 1917 Jayapanayudu was stated to have made a gift to Siva temple for the merit of his King Canapati on the above mentioned date

87 S 1170 SII V No 116

88 Tel Ins II p 209 No 13

89 Vaidehi p 196

90 (1) Ibid (2) Hanumantha Rao p 202

91 Besides the temples mentioned under this heading, there were many other temples of importance like Brahmesvara temple at Alampur and Kumaraswami at Chebrolu and so on

92 See "Life and activities of Mallikarjuna" Ch II

93 (1) A record of 1092 of Vikramaditya VI
VR II Godavari, 106 255 of 1893
(2) Another record of the same king of 1120, R Sewell HISI p 97
(3) A record of Choda II S 1091 SII IV No 1242

(4) A few records of Kakati Rudra of different years in 1168, 1186, SII IV No 1095 and 1155 respectively

94 Hanumantha Rao p 137 f n 158

95 SII Vol VI

96 See Ch II

97 S 1150 SII IV No 747 and S 1154 Ibid No 742

98 MPC Parvata Pra pp 374-391

99 Hon . . . p 202

100 (1) For details (1) Tammayya "Nannachoduni Kālamu" Vyasavali Part I Kakinada Telugu year Kālaka pp 52-98

(2) Vavilla Venktatesvaralu Int to Kumarasambhavamu Madras 1969 p 4

(3) T Nirmala, A Critique on Nannechoda's Kumarasambhava, an unpublished thesis in Telugu, Andhra University, 1966

101 Nannechoda Kumarasambhavamu Ibid 6th Canto V 90 and 7th Canto

102 This Jangama Mallikarjuna was said to be the Guru of Nannechoda The latter described the former in the name of Siva in his work Kumarasambhavam Venkata Rao tries to identify Jangama Mallikarjuna, with Mallikarjuna Pandita Int to STS pp 26-29 However this identification does not appear to be quite sound The

former appears to have believed in a systematic observance of religious duties in accordance with the Saivagamas as it has been described in association with Parvati of the Kavya But Mallikarjuna Pandita gave the least prominence for such observatrons V No 485 can be taken in support of the view Agamacharyala Kantaryaga bahirbhaga vidhula kabhyasa mahayogammulakum boyene ' Bhogannaku Sivudu valachipoyina bhangin

103 SII X No 395 L 85

104 SII X No 189

105 Tel Ins II No 2

106 Ibid No 3

107 Ibid No 4

108 Ibid pp 38-39

109 Ibid 22, 24

110 SII IV No 1229

111 Tel Ins II pp 24-25

112 317 of 1937-38

113 SII IX No 134

114 Tel Ins II No 16

115 Ibid p 96

116 N Venkataramanayya and M S Sarma "The Religion of the Kakatiyas' EHD p 707

117 Tel Ins Vol II p 93 LL 5-9

118 Hanumantha Rao p 296 f n 114

119 SII X No 268

120 L 142

121 SII X 268 L

122 D 274

123 The Siva bhaktas who observe the vrata of offering any particular thing daily as a sign of their devotion to Siva, without failing in doing so even for a single day, are called Viravratas We have the examples of some bhaktas who went to the extent of self-sacrifice when they could not carry out their vrata Somanatha describes certain Dochamamba who used to offer five Karavira flowers to Siva One day falling short of one flower, she pulled out her eyes and offered them to Siva B P I Canto p 1 But these vratas however cannot be taken as parts of Virasaivism

124 Mal Ins L 79

125 A R 293 of 1936-37 Bhattiprolu Pratibha Nagal Kakatiya Rudradevi Unpublished thesis 1972 Andhra University p 168

126 LL 94-114

127 SII 503

128 Ibid 504

129 Ibid 376

130 Tel Ins p 93 L 7

131 SII X 504 LL 22-23

132 317 of 1937-38

133 SII X 503

134 SII X 504

135 An epigraph of S 1202 at Uma Mahesvaram states that one Ramayya - the treasurer of Rudradeva (Rudrama) his wife and son, built five temples and several Mathas Corp Tel Ins M N 41 M Rama Rao

CHAPTER II

SRIPATI PANDITA AND SIVALENKA MANCHANA

Introduction

From the writings of Palakuriki Somanatha, Sripati Pandita, Sivalenka Manchana and Mallikarjuna Pandita described as *panditatrayamu* (*Pandita* trinity) were known as the propagators of devotional Saivism [1] This form of Saivism is commonly known as Virasaivism in Andhra The present chapter deals with the first two of the three *Pandits*, Sripati and Manchana Of the two, the source material on the latter is very very scanty and hence this chapter is mostly concerned with Sripati Pandita

Sripati is believed to be the earliest[2] of the three Pandits Many of the later writers who trace their descent to him have described him as a Virasaiva [3] Since the time, of *Srikarabhashyamu* a Sanskrit work, being a commentary on the *Vedanta Sutras* of Badarayana from the Virasaiva standpoint, was brought to light as the work of Sripati, he became all the more important as the earliest Virasaiva Some

scholars like B S L Hanumantha Rao[4] comparing Sripati with Ekantada Ramayya who was given credit by K A N Sastri as the originator of the faith, says that the Virasaiva traditions were prevalent in Karnataka and Andhra much earlier than Basava

But others[5] have expressed doubts regarding Sripati's authorship of the Bhashya and if this is the truth there is little scope to claim him as a Virasaiva So to decide whether he was a Virasaiva or not his authorship of the Bhashya has to be settled And this in its turn needs an examination of the various theories put forward by the scholars on the date of Sripati and the work First let us examine the historicity of Sripati

The historicity of Sripati Pandita

As in the case of the other religious leaders his life also is overlaid with legends making him appear semi-legendary and semi-historical However, the inscription of the Pallava king Pallaketa and many literary accounts of Sripati help us to establish his historicity

Sripati in the early works

To begin with, Mallikarjuna Pandita[6] was the first

poet to mention the name of Sripati We learn from his writings that Sripati was an ardent Saivite who believed in the superiority of Siva To establish it, it has been said that once he held fire in his upper cloth and transferred it to a nearby Sami tree at Vijayawada

After Mallikarjuna, Somanatha, the greatest Virasaiva poet of Andhra, made several references in his works to Sripati and described his fire miracle in different contexts and with slight modifications

Sripati in Basavapuranamu

Somanatha would have us believe in this work that Sripati performed the miracle in the court of Anantapala[7] to prove that one devotee of Siva was greater than one crore of Brahmins It is to be noted here that Anantapala cited by Somanatha has been identified with Anantapala dandanayaka under the Western Chalukyas who ruled over the Andhra region[8] during the first quarter of the 12th century

Sripati in Mallikarjuna Panditaradhya Charitra

A passing reference to the same miracle was made by Somanatha in his M P Charitra[9] In the Mahimaprakarana of this work, the author described Mallikarjuna as having

included the name of Sripati in the list of Trayodasaganas[10] and thus paid him a very high tribute Then while describing the ascent of Mount Srisaila by the devotees, Somanatha says that the devotees tried to forget the difficulties of climbing by singing songs in priase of Sripati[11] and other devotees

Epigraphical evidence ~~to~~ on the fire miracle

The inscription of Pallaketa,[12] referred to earlier, found in the court-yard of the Mallesvara temple at Vijayawada, mentions the fire miracle of one Panditaradhya who is identified with Sripati Pandita It is a mutilated lithic record containing many legends It mentions one Mahamandalesvara Pallaketa bhupala of the Kaduvetti dynasty and a subordinate of the Chalukya king (name is not given) of Vengi

Among the other legends, the inscription records that one pious devotee of Siva by name Panditaradhya proclaimed to the world that the devotees of Siva were superior to the divine sages and illustrated the truth of it by binding live coal in a piece of China muslin with a tender twig of a Sami tree God Mallesvara was pleased and manifested himself before his devotee

The date of the inscription is not known and no more details of the king Pallaketa of this inscription are known However, H Krishna Sastri, the Government Epigraphist suggested that it might be referred to the period of the Kakatiya rulers, king Ganapati and his daughter Rudramba [13] V Yasodadevi[14] mentions one Pallaketa in association with one Siddhayadeva Maharaja She says that both these rulers have come to light from three records, two found at Bezawada and one at Motupalli They claim their descent from Mukkanti of Kaduvetti and were of Bharadvaja gotra and entitled Pallava Kulatilaka Two of their records register grants for the merit of Ganapatideva and Rudrama of the Kakatiyas The third record at Motupalli of 1231 mentions a gift of a village Aduru to god Prasannakesava of that place for the merit of his father Mallideva and Kakatiya Ganapati One of the two above mentioned Bezawada records is dated S 1150 corresponding to 1228 [15] Since Pallaketa bhupala was mentioned along with Siddhayadeva Maharaja it can be taken for granted that the former also lived about 1228 This Pallaketa, was known to be of Bharadvaja gotra and of Kaduvetti dynasty and he can be identified with Pallaketa of the inscription mentioning the fire miracle of Panditaradnya as the name, gotra and dynasty are identical

Sripati in later writings

Among the later writers, Gubbiya Mallanarya[16] who lived in the 16th century (1513) was the first poet to mention the name of Sripati In his Bhavachintaratnam, he pays rich tributes to Sripati and the other two Pandits It is to be noted that all the three poets so far seen did not give other details about Sripati excepting paying him compliments either for his miracle or his devotion

But still later writers belonging roughly to the later half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries, described Sripati as a Virasaiva and tried to trace their descent to his line

Of the later writers, Pochiraju Viranamatya[17] whose known date is 1826[18] is the most important one He was the author of many works and he made a reference to Sripati in almost all his works In Manuvamsapuranamu,[19] he stated that Sripati was the Guru of the Tellikas (oil-mongers) at Vijayawada and also of Chalukya Visnuvardhana Maharajadevabhallana Vira Perumala Pratapa-chola and both the king and Sripati were said to have been living in S 1109 (1187)

In his another work Bhallanacharitramu[20] also, he made a reference to Sripati The author dedicated the work to one Moggana, the native of Bandaru (Machilipatnam) The latter was stated to be the disciple of Sambhulinga - the son of Mahadevadesika who was born in the family of Sripati[21] of the prosperous town of Vijayawatika In Vibhuti Rudraksha Mahatmyam of the same author, the name of Sripati is mentioned While dealing with the dedicatory[22] part of his work, the poet described in such a way that it would refer to either Sripati or Mahadeva So it has been interpreted in both the ways Ramakrishna Sastri[23] states that the author dedicated the work to Sripati, while Adilakshmi[24] says that it was dedicated to Mahadeva the author of Basavapuranamu

Mahadeva Kavi

He is the above mentioned poet He makes a reference to Sripati [25] He appears to have lived during the time of Pochiraju Virana[26] mentioned above In Basavapuranamu, he traced his descent to Sripati [27] He described that he was the son of Sambhulinga and grandson of Mahadeva of Kausika gotra Thus it appears that he was the son of Sambhulinga, the guru of Moggana, as the other details tally with each other Mahadeva Kavi gives an interesting

account of Sripati in the Avatarika of his work [28] According to it, Sripati was a famous Virasaiva guru living in the Mallesvara temple at Vijayawada He had many followers including Anantapala - the ruling chief of the day One day an outcaste Virasaiva devotee came to Sripati and informed him about his vrata according to which he had to feed six Mahesvaras or devotees of Siva a day and falling short of one also he had to cut his head according to the vow he took So Sripati responded to the request of that devotee without any hesitation, went to his house and had his food with him The Brahmins came to know of it and excommunicated him from their caste and threatened him that they would not supply him with the sacred fire On hearing this, Sripati wanted to show them the greatness of Sivabhakti and thus performed the miracle of tying up the fire in his cloth Thus the Brahmins had to go without fire and they had to request Sripati to release it

Kasinadhuni Viranaradhya was another poet who traced his descent to Sripati The poet appears to have lived during the 19th century [29] In his work called Dharmaguptabhyudayamu,[30] he gives the same story[31] given above as to how Sripati performed the miracle but with slight modifications here and there According to his

account when the Brahmins asked Sripati for explanation for accepting the food from an outcaste, the latter argued at length that one should not question the caste of the devotees of Siva since they believed in Sivadvaita i e the union of Jiva and Siva and quoted many Sastras in support of his view The Brahmins could not appreciate his arguments and prohibited him from using the sacred fire which led Sripati to perform the miracle Another poet called Nagalinga, the author of Pattabhiramavilasamu,[32] traces his lineage to Sripati The date of this poet is not known According to the details given in his work the author was known as the son of Viranaradhya or Viresalingam and the grandson of Sambhulinga - a descendant of Sripati

Hayavadana Rao suggests that Sambhulinga cited above could be identified with the Guru of Moggana[33] whose name also was the same If Sambhulinga, the grandfather of Nagalinga and the Guru of Moggana were one and the same it is quite likely that Sambhulinga was the father of Mahadeva also and Nagalinga's father must be the brother of Mahadeva Kavi But according to the description of the latter in Basavapuranamu, it is known that Sambhulinga had four sons - Mahadeva the eldest the third one was said to be Virabhadra

Since the other details given by Nagalinga tally with Mahadeva's account, Virabhadra mentioned by Mahadeva must have been Viranaradhya the father of Nagalinga Virana appears to be an abbreviation of Virabhadra

Halakatti,[34] the Virasaiva Vachana Pitamaha of the present century, says that Sripati Pandita visited Basava at Kalyana P B Desai[35] also says the same thing But both these authors do not quote the sources for their statements Thus the different accounts of Sripati well attest to his historicity

The date of Sripati

None of the literary works except Manuvamsapuranamu, discussed so far, mentions the date of Sripati But since that work is of much later period and the ruler mentioned therein also can not be identified with certainty, much weight should not be attached to the details unless they are well supported by other evidence So now let us turn to the earlier works to fix a probable date to Sripati The earliest reference to Sripati was made by Mallikarjuna who lived in the 12th[36] century So it can be said that Sripati lived either in the same century or earlier than that but definitely not later than the 12th century But

some scholars however have argued that Sripati lived earlier than the 12th century and according to others he lived later than that So let us first examine here the divergent dates assigned to Sripati by different scholars and their arguments in favour of the same

1 Narayana Rao[37] says that Sripati lived earlier than the 12th century

2 Venkata Rao[38] supported Narayana Rao's views and fixed the date of Sripati as 930, the date of the inscription of Yuddhamalla of which he considers Sripati to be the composer

3 Hayavadana Rao[39] assigned C 1400 to Sripati taking various factors like i) the internal evidence of Srikarabhashya, ii) the inscriptional evidence and iii) the literary evidence, into consideration T M P Mahadevan[40] agreed with Hayavadana Rao's date

4 Scholars like Prabhakara Sastri,[41] Bandaru Tammayya[42], N Venkataramanayya,[43] and Chaganti Seshayya[44] accepting Somanatha's description of Sripati's association with Anantapala, expressed their view that the former lived in the 12th century Now let us examine the

validity of these views

Narayana Rao

He did not give any weight[45] to Somanatha's account regarding the contemporaneity of Sripati with Anantapala saying that the name of the former is not found in any of the inscriptions of Anantapala Narayana Rao doubted the historical knowledge of Somanatha and to point out Somanatha's ignorance of certain historical information, the former said that Somanatha described Kumarapala Gurjara as a great Virasaiva in M P Charitra But according to Narayana Rao, Kumarapala was a famous ruler of Gujarat in the 12th century and he was a Jain Thus disbelieving Somanatha's information about Anantapala as a contemporary of Sripati, Narayana Rao put forward the following points in support of his argument that Sripati lived earlier than the twelfth century

1 The name of Sripati Pandita was mentioned in Basavapuranamu and M P Charitra along with the names of some devotees like Pushpadanta, Aripuri, Kannappa, Pillanayanaru and other devotees who were known as Puratanas and they were known to have lived earlier than Basava So Sripati also must be taken to have lived earlier than Basava i e earlier than the 12th century A D [46]

2. Basava was described by Somanatha to have quoted the example of Sripati accepting food from an untouchable and about his fire miracle, when Basava was accused by Bijjala for accepting food from Sivanagumayya - an outcaste devotee Since Basava quoted Sripati the latter should have lived earlier than the former

3 Sripati has been described as the earliest of the three Pandits So he must have lived earlier than Mallikarjuna who was known to have lived in the 12th century

4 In M P Charitra, Kumarapala was described to have mentioned the name of Sripati Since the former lived in the 12th century Sripati must have lived earlier

5 While describing the fire miracle of Sripati, Mallikarjuna suggests in Sivatatvasaramu that it was quite famous by his time by saying Ala Jammi (i e that famous Sami) So it must have been performed earlier than the 12th century

Venkata Rao[47]

Agreeing with the view of Narayana Rao, Venkata Rao pointed out what according to him was another mistake of

Somanatha saying that the latter wrongly stated Bijjala who was a Kalachuri king as a Chalukya In support of the view, that Sripati lived earlier than the twelfth century, he says that

1 Though the date of Pallaketa's inscription which mentions the fire miracle is not given there, Venkata Rao stated that it was assigned to the 11th century by the epigraphists and so the miracle mentioned therein might have taken place earlier i e somewhere in the 10th century

2 As has been stated already, he attributed the composition of the inscription of Yuddhamalla II to Sripati and assigned the date of the inscription to the latter viz , 929-930

Before going to know the details of this inscription and the views of Venkata Rao, let us examine the various arguments in favour of the view that Sripati lived earlier than the 12th century To find fault with the historical knowledge of Somanatha, his reference to Kumarapala was cited saying that he was a famous ruler of Gujarat and a Jain But no evidence is quoted in support of this statement Moreover, Mallikarjuna described Kumarapala as a

great devotee of Siva According to his information, the latter went to Kailasa with his horse and wives [48] If one has to apply the argument of Narayana Rao here it can be stated that since Mallikarjuna of the 12th century quoted Kumarapala, the latter should have lived earlier than the 12th century but not in the same century Whether Kumarapala was a historical person or not, a Jain or Saiva he was mentioned as a Saiva by Mallikarjuna and it is obvious that Somanatha borrowed the matter about Kumarapala from the work of Mallikarjuna and developed it into a story in M P Charitra[49] as he did with many other ~~parts~~ aspects of Sivatatvasaramu So just because of Kumarapala's account one need not find fault with Somanatha's historical knowledge

Regarding Bijjala being called a Chalukya, Venkataramanayya[50] stated that Somanatha was not a contemporary of Bijjala or of any one his successors The art of writing history was not known those days as it was not the practice to record all the minor details of history Bijjala might have been considered as a Chalukya king in Somanatha's days Probably for this reason, the Araviti rulers who were said to belong to the Chalukya dynasty wrongly claimed Bijjala as one of their ancestors So according

to Venkataramanayya, it was not a mistake, when Somanatha called Bijjala a Chalukya king because the latter was so called by many others also Then what might be the reason for this mistake ? It must be probably due to the following reason The Kalachuri rulers[51] from the time of Jogama, the grandfather of Bijjala, were said to have enjoyed a privileged position in the court of the Chalukyas by having matrimonial alliance with the imperial family Jogama's daughter, the aunt of Bijjala, was given in marriage to Vikramaditya VI Permadi, Bijjala's father, married the daughter of Vikramaditya by his senior queen and thus Bijjala was the son of the Chalukya princess Taking advantage of his privileged position, Bijjala was said to have exercised great influence in the Chalukya court This must be the main reason for Bijjala to be mistaken for a Chalukya prince by Somanatha and others

Leaving aside some minor details here and there, it can be said that much of the historical information furnished by Somanatha is proved to be correct He was the first poet to describe the life and activities of Basava and Mallikarjuna Basava was described as dandanayaka in the court of Bijjala Madivalu Machayya, Chennabasava, Allamaprabhu and some other devotees who were mentioned by

Somanatha were famous figures during the time of Basava [52] Choda II,[53] the ruler of Velanadu, mentioned by Somanatha, as a contemporary of Mallikarjuna, was a historical person who lived in the later half of the 12th century Moreover, it is interesting to note that while doubting the historical knowledge of Somanatha on the one hand both these scholars gave so much importance to the other details given by Somanatha and quoted them in support of their views It was Somanatha who wrote that Basava quoted the name of Sripati and that Kumarapala mentioned the account of Sripati It was Somanatha who included the name of Sripati in the list of the Puratana Saiva devotees of earlier times But there it can be seen that Somanatha cited the names of the other devotees like Madivalu Machayya[54] and others who lived in the 12th century in association with Sripati and in Parvata Prakaranamu his name was mentioned along with Pandita and Basava [55] Thus it is not justifiable to argue, that since Sripati was named in the list of the Puratanas, he must have lived earlier than the 12th century

In the same way, it can be said that just because Mallikarjuna described Sripati, the latter should have lived earlier than him Mallikarjuna mentioned the names

of many of his contemporaries like Madivalu Machayya, Bijjala and Basava [56]

As has been seen already, Pallaketa's inscription was assigned to the time of Ganapatideva and Rudramba but not to the 11th century as was wrongly stated by Venkata Rao So it is untenable to argue that Sripati lived in the 10th century

Sripati Pandita and the inscription of Yuddamalla

The above mentioned inscription was found at Bezawada[57] and is composed in Madhyakkara metre and is assigned to 930 [58] On account of the following reasons, Venkata Rao argued that it was composed by Sripati and hence the date of the inscription could be taken according to him as the date of Sripati also [59]

1 The inscription is found at Vijayawada and Sripati was known to have performed the miracle at that place

2 The inscription is found in the Mallesvara temple where the miracle was said to have been performed

3 It mentions the word goraga which is connected with Virasaivism and Sripati was known to be a Virasaiva

4 It was composed in the Madhyakkara metre which was said to be the native metre and used very much by the Saiva poets to spread their religion

5 Sripati was described as a poet by Somanatha

But these arguments do not appear to be quite sound The inscription does not mention either the name of Sripati or his miracle Just because he was said to have performed the miracle at Vijayawada the inscription can not be attributed to him In the same way, neither Mallikarjuna nor Somanatha described that Sripati performed the miracle in the Mallesvara temple at Bezawada The word goraga mentioned in the inscription is in no way connected with Virasaivism Venkataramanayya[60] observes that the word was used in the inscriptions long before the origin of Virasaivism, ~~It was derived from the Sanskrit word Guru and thus it cannot be taken as something~~ and it cannot be taken as nothing signifying Virasaivism It is too early to spot out Virasaivism by the time of the inscription i e 930 either in Karnataka or in Andhra Yuddhamalla who is mentioned in the inscription was not a Virasaiva It is known from the inscription[61] that he built a temple for god Kartikeya and a Matha attached to that temple The entrance of non-Saivas to that Matha was strictly

prohibited It was meant only for the goragas i e to the Saiva mendicants If others who were not goragas tried to stay in the Matha it was warned that they would derive as much sin as that of committing murder in Varanasi It is also stated that those who take care of the Matha without allowing non-Saiva to enter it would be blessed with as much punya as they would derive by celebrating one Asvamedha sacrifice Thus it is obvious from this description that the inscription is in no way connected with Virasaivism as it does not approve the worship of Kartikeya or any other god and it is against the performing of any Vedic sacrifice

The word goraga was used at different places by early Telugu writers, but it was never used to mean Virasaivism In Kridabhiramamu,[62] while describing the celebrations of god Mailara by Mailarabhatas (the devotees of Mailara) goraga women were mentioned to have been dancing The Telugu dictionaries[63] explain the word as a Saiva mendicant who worships god Mailara Sometimes, it has been used to mean a fourth caste servant who is employed in cleaning the temples

T Donappa[64] says that goragas are to be found even today in Western Andhra and they belong to the Kuruba or

shepherd caste and known at present as goravayyalu and they are not Virasaivas Thus it can be stated that the inscription of Yuddhamalla is not a Virasaiva inscription and its composition cannot be attributed to Sripati and so the date of the inscription can not be accepted as the date of Sripati

From the above discussion it can be said that the arguments of both Narayana Rao and Venkata Rao in favour of their opinions that Sripati lived earlier than the 12th century (and according to the latter he lived in the 10th century) are not acceptable

Hayavadana Rao

According to Hayavadana Rao, Sripati must be posterior to Madhva He says that Sripati refers to the doctrines of Sankara, Ramanuja and also Madhva and the latter was being mentioned both by name[65] and implication. So Hayavadana Rao argues that the author of the Bhashya must be posterior to Madhva and because of this reason, Hayavadana Rao did not accept R Narasimhacharya's view ~~saying~~ that Sripati was the contemporary of Mallikarjuna and Basava Taking into consideration the following points,[66] he fixes the date of Sripati as C 1400

1 Madhva lived about 1230 So Sripati should have lived after ~~that date~~ him

2 He should have lived before 1513 since it was the date of Bhavachintaratnam where Sripati was paid tributes by the author of the work So Sripati should have lived in between Madhva and Gubbiya Mallanarya the author of the above mentioned work

3 Hayavadana Rao tried to identify certain Panditaradhya mentioned in an epigraph found in the ruined Mandapa of Kondavidu of S 1327 with Sripati Pandita [67] The record says one Damalapati Chennamanenimgaru made a gift for the merit of his spiritual teacher Sirigiriyyamgaru who was said to be the grandson of Panditaradhya Accepting it as a strong evidence, Hayavadana Rao stated that Sirigiriyya must have been at least forty years of age when the record was issued since he was mentioned as the spiritual guru and at the rate of a gap of twenty years for each generation Sripati should have been definitely living 40 years earlier to the date of the record i e in S 1287 corresponding to 1365 and taking that he lived little later also, the date can be set down to C 1400

4 Accepting the suggestion of Krishna Sastri, that

Pallaketa's inscription, which mentions the fire miracle of Panditaradhya, could be referred to the time of Ganapati and Rudramba, Hayavadana Rao says that the date of Rudramba i e 1295-1323[68] is a little bit early to Sripati, so it can be suggested that Sripati must have been an younger contemporary of queen Rudramba and lived long after the close of her reign So he should have lived about 1400

But the inscriptional evidence taken by Hayavadana Rao cannot be accepted for two reasons

1 The identification of 'Panditaradhya of Kondavidu inscription[69] with Sripati is wrong 'Panditaradhya' mentioned therein is described as one who obtained Niluvugannulu (extra pair of eyes on the forehead) and this refers to Mallikarjuna Pandita of Panditatrayam as he was famous for the miracle of pulling out and getting back the eyes along with a pair of extra eyes So Sirigiriyya cited in that record must be the grandson of Mallikarjuna and not of Sripati Coming to the second argument the dates shown for Rudramba are totally wrong She ruled between 1261 and 1289 and the dates given to her by either Krishna Sastri or Hayavadana Rao i e 1295 to 1323 are the

dates of Prataparudra So that way also it can not be said that Sripati lived about 1400

It appears that Hayavadana Rao was not aware of Mallikarjuna's reference to Sripati in Sivatatvasaramu of the 12th century Thus it is clear from the above discussion that the different dates assigned by Narayana Rao, Venkata Rao and Hayavadana Rao to Sripati are not acceptable

Sripati lived in the 12th century

As we have disposed of the theories that he lived earlier than the 12th century and about 1400, let us now see the probability of the other view viz , that he lived during the 12th century It appears probable for two reasons

1 Mallikarjuna of the 12th century made a reference to Sripati along with the other devotees of the same century like Basava and others

2 According to Somanatha Sripati performed the miracle in the court of Anantapala Of the information till now brought to light on Sripati, this is the only direct evidence to fix his date Venkataramanayya[70] opines

that until more satisfactory evidence on this issue is available, Somanatha's statement that Sripati was a contemporary of Anantapala can be accepted And now it is necessary to examine the inscriptions about the latter's rule in Andhra

The rule of Anantapala in Andhra

A Kannada inscription of CVE 40 (1116) from Kesavaswami temple at Chebrolu mentions both Chalukya Vikaramaditya and Anantapala and the latter is said to have repaired the temple and built a tank called Anantasarovara[71] This record appears to be the earliest of the inscriptions of Anantapala in Andhra and in the light of this inscription the earlier opinion of the historians like Venkataramanayya, that Anantapala ruled over the Andhra region between 1120 and 1130[72] needs a slight modification As C.V E 51[73] appears to be the last known date of Anantapala it can be stated that he ruled over Andhra between 1116 and 1127

An inscription of 1115 of the region of Vikramaditya VI found at Guntur and the records of the Pallavas of Guntur lend support to the above view that Ananatapala's rule commenced in Andhra from 1116 The Guntur record of Vikramaditya[74] states that he was reigning at Guntur in 1115 and another record of the same year found at Chebrolu[75]

shows that the country was locally ruled by the Velanadu chief Choda, alias Rajendra Choda Kulottunga Chola's protege and adopted son Thus when Vikramaditya conquered the Guntur region, Chebrolu must have been under the rulers of Velanadu and the record of Anantapala in the following year at the same place shows that soon after the conquest of Guntur, Chebrolu also might been conquered and occupied by the Western Chalukyas

Writing about the Pallavas of Guntur - a minor dynasty - Yasodadevi[76] states that they ruled Satsahasra between the years 1100 and 1300 with their capital at Gunturu (modern Guntur) Ketaraja who ruled between 1060 and 1115 was the earliest ruler and Bezawada was the nucleus of his kingdom His successor Mahamandalika Boddana ruled from 1115 to 1127 and his kingdom included the villages near Bezawada and these were said to have been secured by him from the king of Karnataka i e Vikramaditya This information clearly proves that the latter defeated the Pallavas of Guntur and occupied their territory including Bezawada and appointed Anantapala to rule over it as his subordinate The Tripurantakam inscription[77] of Anantapala testifies to his rule over the Guntur region by mentioning Yenamadala six thousand Bezawada, the nucleus

of the Pallava kingdom, must have become the seat of Anantapala in 1115 and this conclusion confirms the two literary accounts of Sripati's miracle performed according to Mallikarjuna at Vijayawada[78] and according to Somanatha in the court of Anantapala [79] And if Somanatha's account is correct, the fire miracle would have taken place between the years 1116 and 1127 when alone Anantapala's inscriptions are found round about coastal Andhra

Anantapala's religious leanings

Discussing the causes of the decline of Jainism in Andhra, Hanumantha Rao[80] writes that it was exposed to the attacks of Saivites like Sripati Pandita He opines that Sripati performed the miracle in the court of Anantapala probably to wean him away from his favourable disposition to Jainism It is known from the inscriptions of Anantapala found at Chebrolu and Kolluru that the latter made gifts to the temples of both Siva and Vishnu The Narendresvara temple at Kolluru is said to have been converted by Anantapala into Ananta Bhogisvara temple and the Ananta Jinalaya was supposed to have been built by Anantapala Thus as Anantapala was inclined towards a 'false' religion, Jainism, it is said by Hanumantha Rao that Sripati proved the superiority of Saivism by performing a

miracle and weaned him away to the side of his own religion

Two more points can be added here in support of the above expressed view on the probability of Anantapala's favourable disposition to Jainism

1 Being a native of Gujarat[81] and a domicile of Western Deccan, the strong-holds of Jainism, Anantapala's inclination to that faith is easy to understand

2 His nephew, Govinda _dandanayaka_, also appears to have been a supporter of Jainism His daughters were known to have built a Jain temple [82]

Thus Anantapala must have encouraged Jainism also However it does not appear to have been the main cause for Sripati to perform his miracle But he appears to have performed it only to declare according to Mallikarjuna that Siva is the only god and according to Somanatha, to prove the superiority of _Sivabhaktas_ over the Brahmins Thus Sripati appears to have come to prominence lived in ~~the first half of~~ the 12th century

According to the writings of Viranamatya, as has been stated already, Sripati lived in 1187 But the king mentioned therein as the disciple of Sripati can not be

identified as there was no king of that name about the given date among the ruling dynasties Venkataramanayya[83] feels for this very reason that the king might not be a historical person But Hayavadana Rao[84] tried to identify the king Vishnuvardhana Devabhallana with Bhallanarendra who is mentioned in a few inscriptions at Pedakallepalli in the Krishna district It is said that two such records found at Nagesvara temple at that place S 1076 (1154) recording gifts of gold for lamps by Somadevi queen of Bhallanarendra In the opinion of Hayavadana Rao, since the difference of the date mentioned by Viranamatya and the inscription was only 33 years, it could be taken that Virana mentioned the name of the king correctly If the identification of the king by Hayavadana Rao is accepted it can be said that Sripati was living in Ş 1076 (1154) If Viranamatya's date to Sripati is to be accepted it can be said that Sripati must have been a very old man by that date By the time he performed the miracle in the court of Anantapala, the former must be at least between 20 and 30 years of age between the dates 1116 and 1127 and thus he must have been between 80 and 90 years of age when he was said to be the guru of Vishnuvardhanaballana In that case it might have been also

possible for Sripati to visit Basava at Kalyana But there is no evidence to say definitely whether he visited Basava or not Thus from this long discussion it can be said that Sripati lived in the 12th century and more or less as a contemporary of Mallikarjuna and Basava

Now let us, examine his authorship of Srikarabhashyamu

Sripati and Srikarabhashyamu

In the opening verses of the Bhashya the author is known as 'Srimachchripati Panditendrayati' [85] The author appears to have named the Bhashya after Siva as Srikara Sivānugrahadbhāshyam srīkara nāmakam bhavaharam durvādigarrvāpaham [86] In the beginning of the work itself, the author mentions the names of

> 'Dvaitādvaita visista Bouddhamata mattēbhendra kanthīravam, Sivādvaita vivēkasāra Vilasatsiddhānta-paksha pradam'[87]

i e Sivadvaita is like the lion to the great elephant of the above mentioned philosopies The author invokes Revanasiddha[88] calling him 'Sri Revanasiddhagurum' 'Revanakalpavriksham' and 'Srimad Revanadesikendra' Marula Prabhu[89] and Ekorama,[90] the latter as 'Ekoramakhya'

and 'Ekoramayatindra' He describes Vırasaıvism as the synthesıs of all the Vedas Virasaiva Sıddhānta sarvasruti samanvayah

In the course of the Bhasya, the author quotes from Sıddhānta Sikhamani by mentıonıng its name [94]

Ityādi parāsarasmruti Sıddhānta Sıkhāmanyadou[91]

These details from the Bhashya are enough for us to fix its date From the Bhashya no other details are available about the author But when the Bhashya was first published, in 1893, at Secunderabad, some details were given about the author by ıts edıtor in the preface [92] It is a long panegyrıc of Srıpatı where he was descrıbed as[93]

1 one profıcıent ın all the Vedas, Agamas and Ubhaya-Vedanta (Dvaitadvaıta),

2 as one capable of teachıng and convıncing hıs disciples of Istalinga, Bhavalinga and Pranalinga aspects of Sıvatatva,

3 and as one who suspended the fire at the end of a samı branch ~~the fire collected and~~ tıed ın a piece of cloth

Thus Sripati Pandita, the author of Srikarabhashyamu was identified with Sripati of Pandita trinity of the 12th century But from the internal evidence of the Bhashya, it does not appear to be the work of the 12th century So divergent opinions on Sripatis authorship of the Bhashya are expressed Scholars like Prabhakara Sastri[94] and Venkataramanayya[95] doubted the authorship of Sripati of the 12th century without much discussion on it Tammayya first argued that Sripati of Panditatraya was the author of the Bhashya,[96] but later on he revised his views saying that it was a much later work and its authorship was still to be settled [97] Narayana Rao[98] and Venkata Rao[99] argued that Sripati of Panditatraya was the author of that work Narayana Rao criticised[100] the views of Hayavadana Rao for stating that Srikarabhashyamu was a post-Madhva work He contended that the word Madhva was not there in[100A] the manuscript and in the absence of that word the Bhashya could not be claimed as a post-Madhva work - since Madhva was not the originator - but only a reviver of the Dvaita concept

From the point of view of Dvaita Siddhanta, in the absence of the word 'Madhva', Narayana Rao's argument is justifiable It appears that the Dvaita concept was known well by the time of Basava We find its mention in

the *Vacanas* of Basava

> What do you Sir - Reading of *Dvaita* or *Advaita*
> Unless you melt for the *Saranas* like wax in fire [101]

Though Mallikarjuna did not use the word *Dvaita* in his work, he was a great exponent of that concept[102] and he was anterior to Madhva Thus just because of the reference to the *Dvaita* concept, *Srikarabhashyamu* need not be assigned to the post-Madhva period But when the other aspects of the *Bhashya* are taken into consideration, it appears to have been composed not earlier than the 13th century As has been stated earlier, the author of the *Bhashya* mentions the names of three of the *Panchacharyas* who were claimed according to the tradition as the originators of Virasaivism, though he does not say that they were the originators As we have seen earlier, he quoted from *Siddhanta Sikhamani* and mentions the work by name Thus it is evident that *Srikarabhashyamu* was composed after *Siddhanta Sikhamani* and by the time of its composition three *Acharyas*, Revana, Marula and Ekorama, were known Here it is to be noted that *Siddhanta Sikhamani* mentions only one *Acharya*, '*Remuka of Kulyapaka*'[103] (who is mentioned as Revana of Kolanupaka in some other works)

as the originator of Virasaivism Thus the date of Srikarabhashyamu is linked with the date of Siddhanta Sikhamani

Now let us examine the probable period of the composition of Siddhanta Sikhamani Conflicting views are expressed on this subject According to one group of scholars, like Prabhakara Sastri,[104] it was a post-Basava work and according to another group like Tammayya,[105] who believed that Virasaivism was a very ancient religion, it was a pre-Basava work Tammayya assigned to Siddhanta Sikhamani as a probable date 960 But he did not mention any direct and acceptable evidence in support of his date

Nandimath,[106] who says that Basava revived Virasaivism, does not seem to have accepted Siddhanta Sikhamani as a work of the pre-Basava period According to him Virasaiva literature especially Sanskrit literature of the pre-Basava times, is very meagre and much of the Sanskrit literature on the sect available in the present century, must have been produced after Basava If Nandimath had accepted Siddhanta Sikhamani as an earlier work he would have cited it in support of his argument that Basava was not the originator of Virasaivism

Somanatha who lived during C 1250 - C 1323[107] was a well-versed scholar proficient in all the Vedas, Agamas, Upanisads and Puranas and quoted the various scriptures in support of the different tenets of Virasaivism But he never made a mention of Siddhanta Sikhamani in any of his works If it had been composed by his time it would have been definitely mentioned by him

It also appears that the theory of Renukacharya of Kulyapaka or the five Acharyas as the originators of Virasaivism, had not gained ground either by the time of Basava or Somanatha The latter described Basava as the originator of Virasaivism [108] We do not find even a passing reference to any of these Acharyas in the works of Somanatha who paid so many tributes to many Sivabhaktas, whether they were Virasaivas or not P B Desai[109] stated that both the Kannada Basavapuranamu written in 1369 and Sivatatvachintamani written in 1450 did not mention the name of the Acharyas So he expressed the view that the theory of the Panchacharyas as the originators of the faith might have gained currency during the later Vijayanagara period i e the 16th century

In the light of the above discussion, it can be said that Siddhanta Sikhamani which mentions Renukacharya or

Revanacharya as the originator of Virasaivism is probably a work of the post-Basava period Sakhare[110] identified Renukacharya of Siddhanta Sikhamani with Revanasiddha, an older or senior contemporary of Basava

Sivayogi Sivacharya, the author of Siddhanta Sikhamani was known to have belonged to the order of the Acharyas of the school of Siddharama who was born by the favour of Revanasiddha Sakhare identifies this Siddharama mentioned by Sivayogi with Siddharama, the disciple of Allamaprabhu and says that Sivayogi was post-Basava He also says that Sivayogi refers to Basavesvara in the prefatory note (IX 36) where it is said that Virabhadra-chara Basavachara Suchayanu, bhaktachara pratipadayati According to Sakhare, Sivayogi was fourth in the line of Acharyas founded or named after Siddharama and so he must have lived about the middle of the 13th century And so i can be said that Siddhanta Sikhamani was composed in the middle of the 13th century Hayavadana Rao[111] and S N Dasgupta[112] expressed similar views on the date of this work Hence depending on the date of Siddhanta Sikhamani, the date of Srikarabhashyamu can be pushed still further i e towards the end of the 13th or during the succeeding centuries - but before the 16th century as by then the

Five Acharyas were known as the originators of the faith [113]
Thus it can be said that Srikarabhashyamu by citing three as against one Acharya of Siddhanta Sikhamani and of the five according to the later accounts, has been witnessing the process of the evolution of the theory of Panchacharyas
It is obvious that Sripati of the 12th century could not be the author of Srikarabhashyamu Moreover the author of the Bhashya was described as a Nirābhāra[114] Virasaivayati a term which is not used even by Somanatha The Virasaiva concepts[115] like Istalinga and Bhavalinga are not mentioned in association with them It is too early to find such well developed concepts by the 12th century in Andhra Even Mallikarjuna who was described as a great Virasaiva leader and contemporary of Basava did not describe any of these concepts in his work Thus it can be concluded that Sripati of Panditatraya was not the author of the work Sripati Pandita who was said to be the author of Srikarabhashyamu might be another Sripati Pandita[116] or the work must have been wrongly attributed to Sripati Pandita[116A]

The religion of Sripati Pandita

Now it has to be examined whether Sripati was a Virasaiva even without being the author of Srikarabhashyamu

The primary sources on Sripati i e Sivatatvasaramu or the works of Somanatha do not describe him as a Virasaiva No Virasaiva concept like Diksha, or Lingadharana is associated with him He has been described as the originator of devotionalism and as one who proved the superiority of Siva over Brahma He claims that Siva was the Creator Utpattikartha nā Brahmavādi Brahmamanu Brahmavādula drunchi Harabhakti yutpatti kadhipathi nāga barage dā doll, Sripati Panditayya (He defeated the Brahmavadins who argued that Brahma was the creator and thus Sripati was the originator of Sivabhakti) He was said to have proved the superiority of the Sivabhaktas over Brahmins [117] Thus he could be said to have been a great Saiva leader who established the superiority of Siva and thus prepared the ground for his junior contemporaries like Mallikarjuna to carry it further until it had been systematised in the form of Virasaivism with all its accepted tenets

However, the later writers, as has been stated already, described him as a Virasaiva subscribing to all the approved concepts of the religion, [118] but without evidence It is possible that they might have been carried away by the tradition that the three Pandits were the propagators of Virasaivism in Andhra Moreover Mallikarjuna of the

three Pandits was described by Somanatha as a great Virasaiva leader and since Sripati's name was associated with that of Mallikarjuna, the former too might have been considered as a Virasaiva And also probably because of the heroic spirit that Sripati exhibited by performing the miracle to prove and establish the superiority of Siva over Brahma, he might have been described as a Virasaiva The same reason might have led Hanumantha Rao[119] to compare Sripati with Ekantada Ramayya and state that the Virasaiva traditions were much earlier in Karnataka and Andhra than Basava Here it is to be noted that even Ekantada Ramayya has not been accepted as a Virasaiva In the words of Desai[120] Ekantada Ramayya belonged to the traditional orthodox school of Saivism, not subscribing to the doctrine of Virasaivism propounded by Basevesvara Sometimes, Somanatha himself used the word Virasaiva so broadly without looking much for the tenets of the religion In Chaturvedasaramu,[121] he describes Hari as a Virasaiva for his heroic devotion (Virabhakti) to Siva In that sense, one may call Sripati Pandita a Virasaiva but not in the accepted sense of the term In conclusion, it may be said that Sripati lived in the 12th century and he was not the author of Srikarabhashyamu which was a composition of a later period and that he was not a Virasaiva But he can be claimed

as the originator of devotional Saivism which became the nucleus of Virasaivism

Sivalenka Manchana Pandita

If Sripati announced to the world that Siva was the creator of the universe and thus superior to Brahma, Manchana tried to prove that Siva was the caretake of the world and superior to Vishnu He is described as having brought Vishnu to the feet of Siva and thus destroyed the pride of the devotees of Vishnu [122]

Excepting this heroic deed of Manchana to propagate the supremacy of Siva, nothing more is known either about his religion or his religious activities Somanatha did not mention the place also where Manchana performed the miracle of bringing Vishnu to Siva Narayana Rao says [123] according to some Kannada works, the miracle was said to have been performed at Banaras, and gives the following additional details from the same source about Manchana He was the grandson of Somasambhudesika and Manchana's father was said to have been a great Agamic scholar Prabhakara Sastri [124] tried to identify Somasambhu, the said grand-father of Manchana with Somasambhu of the Golakimatha Manchana was known to have visited Basava

at Kalyana from Banaras Some Kannada Vacanas known as Manchanagala Vacana are said to be the Vacanas of Manchana But Narayana Rao doubted Manchana's authorship of these Vacanas and stated that somebody might have composed them and attributed them to Manchana Different views are expressed on the date of Manchana and because of the paucity of sources on the topic no lengthy discussion is possible. According to Prabhakara Sastri,[125] Manchana might have been a contemporary of Basava and the other two Pandits According to Narayana Rao, since Mallikarjuna did not make any reference to Manchana, he might have been posterior to Mallikarjuna and interior to Somanatha According to Venkata Rao [126] Manchana lived in about 1030 But however this date cannot be accepted It appears that Venkata Rao assigned 1030 to Manchana following the date of Sripati as 930, which is however not accepted

Some of the Aradhya families having 'Sivalenka' as their surname trace their descent to Manchana Pandita [127] Thus Manchana was not known to have contributed anything to the cause of Virasaivism excepting his efforts to propagate the supremacy of Siva

Chapter II

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Brahmavādula dranchi Harabhakti utpatti kadhipatinaga barage tā dolli Sripati Panditayya, sthitikarta Harinumapātiki mrokkinchi kshiti Vishnuvādula gītadaginchi chenaci bhaktikriyā sthitikartayaraga Janiyenu Lenka Manchana panditayya, gādhagā samhārakartayanuchu sādhāranamuga nīvaru balku bhakti dūrēnya samayasamhārudai Chaniye surundu Mallikārjuna Panditayya, Khāyitabhaktiki gāranapurushulai Panditatrayambana bhuvi Janeye MPC Dik Pra P 7

2 See the above lines about Sripati

3 1 Mahadevakavi, Avatarika to BP Adilakshmi Parisodhana June-July 1955 pp 11-12 ff

2 Vāru (the three pandits) bhuvi vīrasaiva pravartanambu Brahmarāchāramagunanchu Vilasillirelaghu Mahima Kasinathuni Viranaradhya Dharmaguptabhyadayamu, quoted by Ch Seshayya Andhrakavi Tarangini 1956 Vol II "Sripatipandituḍu' p 19

4 Op cit P 287

5 Prabhakara Sastri and Venkataramanayya discussed their views in a number of places, mentioned in the relevent places

6 SIS V 406

7 BP Madras, 1952 7th canto I 181

8 See for details "Anantapala's rule in the same ch

9 Puratana Pra P 407

10 Mahima Pra P 86

11 Parvata Parva P 375

12 SII X 22

13 Ed Hayavadana Rao The Srikarabhashyamu Vol I Bangalore 1936 P 13

14 The HAC, JAHRS Vol XXII 1952-54 P 16

15 SII IV. 747

16 (1) Hayavadana Rao P 17 (2) Venkata Rao Lives of Telugu poets Madras, 1956 "Sripatipanditudu" P 72

17 He was also known as Kolakaluru Virana

18 Adilakshmi 'Mahadevakavi Basavapuranamu" Parisodhana June-July 1955 P 8

19 Madras Oriental MSS Library Telugu D C I No 160 quoted by Hayavadana Rao P 10

20 (1) M O M S S Library, D C 11 No 600 Hayavadana Rao P 19

(2) Sista Ramakrishna Sastri Virasaiva Literature in Telugu, Tirupati, 1952 P 246

21 Śrīlalita Jayavātika nagara samsthāra Śrīpati Panditārādhya vamsasamudbhava Mahadēvākhya dēsikētra

Sambhave Sambhulinga nāmaguru Karajanarundu

Hayavadana Rao P 19

22 Śrīgurunātha Kausikagotra conkalitu

Nāgalingarādhyunaku Putrudaina Mahadēvuni

Pautru Sambhulinga Saputru bhasitanistrandru

Śrīpati Panditēndru nagaraprabhāvu, Mahadēvudalochi

quoted by S R K Sastri P 216

23 Ibid

24 Adilakshmi "Mahadevrkavi Basavapuranamu" Op cit

P 11

25 It was he who gave a detailed account of Sripati

Pandita's fire-miracle

26 Adilakshmi Ibid P 10

27 Ibid P 15 VV 45-56

28 Ibid VV 4-38

29 The famous patriot and journalist of our times is

said to be the sixth on the line of Viranaradhya

Intro to BP First edn of Andhra grandhamala 1926

30 S R K Sastri says that this work is not extant from

the 2nd canto itself and the beginning of the work

also is lost P 267

31 extracts given by Prabhakara Sastri Intro to BP PP 64-66

32 Hayavadana Rao P 21

33 Loggana's guru Sambhulinga Mahadevakavi's father

Sambhulinga, Nagalinga's grandfather Sambhulinga

appear to be the same person

1 <u>In the line of Sripati</u>

- Mahadeva
  - <u>Son</u> <u>Sambhulinga</u> (Moggana's guru)

2 The genealogical table of Mahadevakavi according to the <u>Avatarika</u> of <u>Basavapuranamu</u>

<u>In the line of Sripatipandita</u>

- Nagalinga
  - Mahadeva
    - <u>Sambhulingaru</u>
      - Mahadeva (the author of B P)
      - Virabhadra
      - Umapati
      - Mrutyunjayudu
    - Mallesurudu

3 Sambhulinga's Son

- Viranaradhya's Son
  - Nagalinga

Viranaradhya might be a contraction of Virabhadra

34 <u>Aravattamuvaru Siva Saranara Charitragalu</u> 1947 Part II P 334.

35 P 191

36 See "The date of Pandita" Ch III

37 Intro to <u>BPC</u> P 31

38 <u>Lives of Telugu poets</u> P 78

39 P 17.

40 Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's History and Culture of the Indian people Vol VI 'Saivism" P 556

41 Intro BP P 79

42 Vyasavali Part II P 152

43 Andhra Vanmaya Vyasamanjari, Hyderabad, 1967 "Sripatipanditudu" pp1 ~~P 13~~ Date of Sripati P 4

44 Seshayya says that Sripati might have lived in the last quarter of 11th century and first quarter of 12th century Andhrakavi Tarangini Vol II "Sripatipanditudu" P 23

45 Intro MPC P 32

46. Ibid pp 28-33

47 Lives of Tel poets Sripati Panditudu Date pp 73 79

48 STS V 437

49 Puratana Pra pp 367-371

50 "Sripatipanditudu" P 11

51 P B Desai pp 14-15

52 BP, MP Passim

53 Vada Pra P 504 and Mahima Pra pp 50 ff

54 Mahima Pra P 86

55 Panditārādhya Śrīpatipanditayye Bandāru Pr[illegible] bāyaka Polutu Parvata Pra P 375

56 V 440 and VV 431 to 433

57 L 1 Vol XV 150-159

58 N Venkata Rao 'Sripati Panditudu" Lives of Tel Poets pp 38-39

59 Ibid P 69

60 'Sripoti Panditudu' P 16

61 Paraganga Bezwada gomarusāmiki bhaktudai gudiya nirupama mati nrupadhāmudettinhe neriděrchi mathamu goragalgākorulindu vidici brundambu goniyondu varu garigaka yavvaranisi vrecchina pāpamba gondru

F I Vol XV P 153

62 Vallabhamatya Madras 1960 V 143

63 1 Sabderatnakaram, 2 Sabdaradhacandrika

3 Suryandranighantuvu

64 Prof in Tel Andhra University, Waltair

65 Bhāgavate Pāncharatna Madhvādi Vaishnavānām

Adhyaya 11 Pada 11 Sruti 41 P 237 Line 27

Hayavadana Rao Ibid P 95

66 Ibid P 31

67 Ibid P 32

68 Ibid P 13 and 16

69 Ld N Venkataramanayya A P Govt Report on Epigraphy for 1965 P 103

70 'Sripatipanditudu" Op cit

71 V R Vol II G T 93 (1054 of 1897)

72 Sripatipanditudu Ibid P 4 Hanurantha Rao P 108

73 SII No 212 and 213

74 V R Ibid 89 150 of 1897

75 Ibid

76 JAHRS Vol XXI (50-52) pp 82-85

77 SII IX Part I No 217

78 STG V 403

79 BP Ibid

80 Ibid P 180

81 He was described Lātakula Kumuda Vana Vidu Iornnon

The moon of the Lake of Lātakula Lillies at 1103

EC Vol 7 Balliome SK No 90

82 EC Vol 7 SK 311

83 'Sripotipanditudu" Ibid

84 Ibid P 18

85 Srikarabhashyam Preparatory P 2

Ed Sri Chidaremath Virabhadra Sarma Banaras 1956

86 Ibid Hayavadana Rao Ibid P 5 and Srikarabhashyam, P 2

87 Srikarabhashyam P 1

88 Ibid

89 Ibid

90 Ibid

91 P 19 and P 20

92 Hayavadana Rao Ibid P 1

93 Ibid P 9

94 Intro to BP P 68

95 Op cit PP 5-6

96 Vyasavali II P 153

97 Andhrabhāsha Sārasva a Parishat Patrika

Vol 52 Part I P 9

98 Intro H O P 31

99 Intro STS p 63 Bharati July 1974

'Siva Jyothi' book review

100 Intro LKC pp 29 to 31

10 A According to Srikanta Sastri the passages referring to Madhva are later interpolations ⊗

101 Vacanas of Basavanna No 191

102 Pandita did not accept the concept of the unity of Soul and Supreme Soul for details see Ch IV "Pandita's religion in his own words" also K Lakshmana Rao Intro to STS

103 Adha Trillinga Vishaya Kulyapakathi sthale Someswara Mahalingata Pradurasite sarenmukah Paricheda II ...

104 P 76

105 Vyasavali Vol II P 177 and 66

106 A hand book of Virasaivism P 2

107 "The date of Somanatha" Ch V

108 BP I canto p 6

109 p 330

110 Intro to Lingasal rane Chandrika By Nand keov ro Belgaum, 1942 pp 389-395

111 According to him, Revanacharya himself was the author of Siddhanta Sikhamani and he assigned 1250 to Revanacharya P 54 Sakhare says that Shivayogi Sivacharya was the author of the book but wrote in the name of Revanarya

112 A History of Indian Philosophy Cambridge 1955 Vol V pp 44 and 46

⊗ The date of Srikara Bhashya Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Vol XIX P 158

113 . D Desai Op cit

114 Hayavadana Rao P 7

115 Preface to the Secunderabad edition 1873
quoted by Hayavadana Rao P 9

116 Venkataramanayya suggests that Sripatyacharya of
late Vijayanagar period might be the author of the
Bhashya SII IV Part II No 507 AR No 87 of 191^
'Sripati Panditudu" Venkateya vyesamanjari PP 5 (

116 A Similar views were expressed by Srikanta Sastri P 158

117 Diksha Pra RPC P 7

118 Mahadevakavi BP Avatarika Ibid V 8 and 12
Sripati was described as Viraśaiva dēsika V 28

119 Religion in Andhra Op cit P 287

120 Ibid P 124

121 V 37

122 Sthitikartha Hari numapatiki mrokkinchi kehi i
Vishnuvēdula gi alaginchi cheraga bh kti kriya
sthitikarta yanaga Janeyenu lenka Lanchena Panditayya
RPC P 7 Diksha Pra

123 Intro to RPC P 72

124 Intro to BP

125 ibid

126 Intro SI P 63

127 Ibid P 64

CHAPTER III

MALLIKARJUNA PANDITA'S LIFE

Introduction

Mallikarjuna is said to be the most prominent Saiva devotee of Panditatraya Panditatrayamulō mānyundana noppu Mallikārjuna Panditayya [1] Somanatha depicted Mallikarjuna as a staunch supporter of Virasaivism and the chief organiser of the Andhra Virasaiva movement In the words of Somanatha, Mallikarjuna was as great a devotee as Basava himself [2] If Basava was described as the incarnation of the Divine Bull sent from Kailasa to the earth by Lord Siva to propagate devotionalism, Mallikarjuna was portrayed as the incarnation of many-folded spiritual and miraculous qualities and powers sent by Lord Siva to accompany Basava for the same purpose

Asamāmbakundu Srivrishādhi nāyakuni Basava nāmambidi sadbhakti vardhanārdhamuga Bholukamunaku Puttenchu tarini (Siva while sending Vrishabha in the name of Basava to spread devotion on earth) Now begins the descriptions of Mallikarjuna Tanapāda bhaktiyu (devotion to the feet of Siva) Nandikēsu sarvajnatayu (The all-round knowledge of Nandi) Bhrungi sahaja nishtayunu

(Bhrungi's natural quality of strict observance of the religious duties) Dūrvāsa mukhyula Śāpaśakti (The cursing power of Dūrvasa) yakshapādādula vagvichakshat (The oratory ~~power~~ of Yakshapada) Upamanyu Sadgurutvambu (the qualities of a good guru like Upamanyu) Mahanīya rudra pramathaganādhipula Sahaja svakīya Prasādaikaratiyu (The natural quality of the Pramathaganas of enjoying Prasada) Prāktana nūtana bhaktaganamula mahima (the miraculous power of the old and new devotees) vīrabhadru sauryamanugūda (Including the valour of Virabhadra) natlokkamūrthigā talapa mukkanti talapu dāmūrthībhavinchi chakkaga bhuvi jakka jāgila mrokka nānandudai Sambhudammūrthi kapuda nānāpurāna vignānambu nosagi yanupama pramathaganasthāna mamara Basavakumāruni pajjanu nīvu vasudhaku Sivabhaktivardhanārdhamuga narugumu All these qualities are said to have taken the form of Mallikarjuna [3]

The historicity of Mallikarjuna Pandita

The most authentic evidence to prove the historicity of Mallikarjuna is his work, Sivatatvasaramu ~~It was~~ ~~described by Somanatha~~ Somanatha's [4] that Mallikarjuna was a poet and many other works ~~were mentioned~~ to ~~his~~ credit and of them the above-mentioned work alone is extant Verse No 387

of it testifies to the authorship of Mallikarjuna Pandita [5]

2 It appears that the name and fame of Pandita spread through the length and breadth of Andhra and by the time of Somanatha, people seemed to have been still cherishing his memories Somanatha says, in the beginning of his work, M P Charitra that he undertook it at the request of the Viramahesvaras at Srisaila [6] Following Somanatha some of the later writers in Andhra and Karnataka have paid tributes to the Pandita trinity while some have mentioned only the name of Mallikarjuna

Parvata Mantri [7] held Mallikarjuna to be responsible for his rendering Viramahesvarachara from Sanskrit to Telugu However, it cannot be said whether the poet was a direct disciple of Mallikarjuna or looked upon as his Guru out of reverence

K V Lakshmana Rao [8] writes that a poet called Gurudeva of the 15th century and of Karnataka traced his descent to Mallikarjuna Pandita in his Sanskrit work called Virasaiva-charamu

Gubbiya Mallanarya [9] was another poet that paid tributes to Panditatraya

Some of the present Aradhya families having Panditaradhyula as surname claim their descent from Pandita and there is a strong tradition that Mallikarjuna was the originator of the Aradhya system in Andhra

M R Sakhare[10] identifies Panditaradhya of Panchacharyas with Mallikarjuna Pandita He does not agree with the theory of the Panchacharyas as the originators of Virasaivism All the same, he tries to prove the historicity of these Acharyas He says that Revana, Marula and Panditaradhya were more or less contemporaries of Basava Discussing about Panditaradhya, Sakhare following Venkannayya, says that the former cannot be called a Virasaiva according to Sivatatvasaramu, where Pandita did not mention Lingadharana Diksha when he dealt with Siva Diksha and also advocated the necessity of the worship of Sthavaralingas So Sakhare says Pandita must have been a Saiva by the time he composed Sivatatvasaramu and must have embraced the Virasaiva faith later on Thus according to Sakhare, Panditaradhya of the five Acharyas was identified with Mallikarjuna Pandita

The inscriptional evidence

We find reference to Mallikarjuna in a few records

belonging to different centuries ranging from 12th to 17th centuries

1. An inscription, of CVE 45 (1121), in the reign of the later Chalukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramaditya VI, at Rediyapalli registers a gift to Mallikarjuna Pandita describing him as the Devakarni of God Mallikarjuna[11] i e one who occupies an important place among the attendants or Ganas of God Mallikarjuna Mallikarjuna Pandita of this inscription can be identified with our Mallikarjuna since we find the mention of the word Ganas used to describe the Sivabhaktas in his work He actually requests God Mallikarjuna to take him as one of his Ganas

2 A record from Sangamesvara of S 1107 (1185) refers to a gift to Mallikarjuna Pandita by one Mahamandalesvara Karnata Gokarnadeva Maharaja for the merit of the latter's father Pochiraju[12]

3 One Vibhuti Gaureya,[13] cited in a few records, is known to be the servant of one Panditaradhya The former is said to have been the native of Pochirajupalli near Warangal and settled on the top of Sirigiri i e Srisaila Panditaradhya of this record also can be identified with Mallikarjuna The latter on his way to Kalyana was said

to have visited and halted at many places starting from Amaravati towards the Telengana region and thus during that period, Vibhuti Gauraya might have become a disciple and servant of Mallikarjuna and thus accompanied the Pandita who finally settled and died at Vellaturu near Srisaila After the demise of his master, Gauraya might have chosen the top of Sirigiri as the best place to pass the rest of his life

4 An undated record of Kakati Ganapatideva's time registers a gift by one of the king's ministers, Malla to the two sons of Panditaradhya [14]

5 Another epigraph of 1405, coming from Kondavidu, cites one Sirigiri Ayya, the preceptor of Damalapati Chennamanedu, who gifted a pillar to a temple [15] Sirigiri Ayya is said to be the grandson (really a descendant) of Panditaradhya who obtained '<u>niluvugannulu</u>' (the extra pair of eyes on the forehead) Panditaradhya mentioned in the record was none other than Mallikarjuna Pandita as has been stated earlier

6 Still another record of S 1538 states that one Virayamutta mantri was the disciple of Ramalinga born in the family of Pandita Mallikarjuna [16]

Thus the historicity of Mallikarjuna is well attested by literary as well as epigraphical evidence and a few of the above mentioned records do help us in fixing a probable date also to Mallikarjuna Pandita

The date of Mallikarjuna Pandita

An attempt is made here to fix the date of Mallikarjuna approximately with the help of some inferences from the literary works, like Sivatatvasaramu and M P Charitra, supported by the epigraphical evidence

Mallikarjuna paid tributes to Basava,[17] Madivalu Machayya[18] and as already been seen, to Sripati also along with many other devotees He referred to Bijjala [19] He described the poison-drinking miracle of Basava and Machayya s killing the elephant of Bijjala From these references, it is evident, that by the time of the composition of Sivatatvasaramu by Pandita, the miraculous stories about Basava and his devotees were well in circulation So Pandita must have been a contemporary of Basava i e the former must have lived during the 12th century

According to Somanatha's writings, it appears that the Pandita lived more or less at the same time as Basava Somanatha would have us believe that Mallikarjuna was born,

as was mentioned already, at the same time as Basava It was not only his birth[20] but also his death was said to have occurred after a short interval after Basava's demise Thus depending on Somanatha's writings it can be believed that the date of Basava more or less coincides with the date of Mallikarjuna

Mallikarjuna was described by Somanatha to have participated in a great religious debate arranged by the ruler of Velanadu Choda at his capital Sanadavolu This debate was said to have taken place sometime before Basava s death Mallikarjuna was said to have left Sanadavolu after the debate for Amaravati and from there he started towards Kalyana cherishing a great hope of meeting Basava When he reached Vanipura he received the news of Basava's demise which was said to have occurred a week ago So Mallikarjuna must have visited the court of Velanadu rulers sometime before the last date of Basava i e during the later half of the 12th century Then the ruler of Velanadu must be Choda II whose reign falls between the years 1163 and 1180 [21]

Learning about the end of Basava, Mallikarjuna is said to have diverted his route from Vanipura to Srisaila [22] When he reached a place called Vellaturu which is within a

short distance of Srisaila it was said to be the eve of Sivaratri

So from Vellaturu he sent his dear disciple Donayya to observe the Sivaratrivrata on the hill of Srisaila on his behalf When Donayya returned from Srisaila observing Sivaratri, Mallikarjuna is said to have prayed Srisaila Mallikarjuna that he did not find any purpose of living in the world without Basava and thus he is said to have become united with Srisaila Mallikarjuna So according to Somanatha's account, Mallikarjuna's death occurred after Sivaratri following the last date of Basava

It is also hinted in the writings of Somanatha that Pandita was an old man by the time he reached Vellaturu It is said there that Donayya while spending the night of Sivaratri i e observing Jagarana met Srisaila Mallikarjuna who came to him in the guise of an old man He introduced himself to Donayya saying that he was known as Sarvajña Mallikarjuna and he was an old friend of Mallikarjuna Pandita and enquired about the latter's welfare [23] Thus the latter also must have been an old man by that Sivaratri time

K V Lakshmana Rao[24] suggested from the above account

that probably due to his old age, Mallikarjuna could not climb the Mount of Srisaila to observe the Vrata for himself and thus sent his disciple on his behalf So Mallikarjuna appears to have died as an old man Thus it can be concluded from the writings of Somanatha that Mallikarjuna died shortly after the death of Basava and that he was an old man by the time he died When Pandita was at the Velanadu court, Bijjala's death was announced[25] by the disciples of Pandita and when the latter reached Amaravati from Sanadavolu, Choda also was said to have died [26] So it can be said that four contemporary personalities died one after the other in quick succession, Bijjala's death took place first After that within a short period, Choda is said to have died and after Choda, Basava and the latter's death was followed by that of Pandita The last known date of any one of these four would help us to fix approximately the last dates of the others also

Scholars' views

However scholars have assigned different dates to Pandita and the majority of them took Somanatha's account that Pandita passed away after Sivaratri that followed the demise of Basava into consideration Tammayya,[27] accepting

the last date of Basava as 1168 expressed the opinion that Pandita might have passed away sometime between 1169-1170

Venkata Rao says[28] that 1167 must be the last date o_ both Basava and Mallikarjuna, the latter must have died after nineteenth Feb of that year as it was the day of Sivaratri of that year and Basava must have passed away a little earlier

Lakshmana Rao[29] suggested 1190 as the last date of Pandita without linking it to Basava's last date (He accepted Basava's last date as 1168) He took only Somanatha's account of Mallikarjuna cursing the ruin of the kingdom of Velanadu According to Somanatha, the kingdom was known to have been ruined during the life-time of Pandita So Lakshmana Rao appears to have taken 1185 as the last date of the Velanadu kingdom, during which year, Prithvisvara the last ruler of the kingdom was said to have started his rule from Pithapuram Since he lost control over the main kingdom, it was taken as the ruin of that kingdom But, it is to be noted here as was stated earlier that Prithvisvara ruled from Sanadavolu itself keeping the kingdom well in tact until his death in 1212 [30] However, Lakshmana Rao fixed the last date of Pandita as 1190 probably taking 1185 as the last date of the Velanadu

kingdom

Venkataramanayya[31] suggested different dates not only to Mallikarjuna but to Bijjala and Basava also He gave full weight to Somanatha's account that Bijjala was murdered just before the demise of Choda II The latter's last known date was 1180 So Bijjala's last date also must be 1180 Depending on this date Basava's last date was suggested to be between 1183 and 1184 and following that Mallikarjuna's last date was fixed somewhere about 1185 Now let us examine the arguments of Venkataramanayya in fixing these dates

1 The disciples of Mallikarjuna - Ramaya and Devaya, while torturing 'Buddha', the Buddhist Guru of Choda II, to death, in the kingdom of Velanadu, paid tributes to Malla, Bomma and Jagadeva who killed Bijjala As has been mentioned earlier, Pandita left Velanadu kingdom cursing the ruin of the ruling dynasty and the kingdom and according to Somanatha's description the curse came into effect immediately and Choda II was said to have died soon after Pandita reached Amaravati a nearby place from Sanadavolu and the kingdom of Velanadu was known to have been ruined So Venkataramanayya argues that Mallikarjuna must have visited Velanadu kingdom during the last years of Choda and as per the epigraphs the last known date of

Choda II is 1180 and so Mallikarjuna should have visited Velanadu kingdom in that year. Since Bijjala's death was mentioned by the disciples of Mallikarjuna at that time, Bijjala's last date also should be 1180. Venkataramanayya believed that Choda II was the last ruler of the dynasty.

2. A similar construction has been put on the account given by Somanatha in Basavapuranamu towards fixing the last date of Basava. It is said that Basava, before his departure to Kudala Sangama, cursed the ruin of Bijjala and his dynasty and Basava's curse also was said to have come into effect immediately. Basava was said to have been informed of the ruin of Bijjala's dynasty while he was at Kudala Sangama. So, according to Venkataramanayya, Basava's death should have taken place after the ruin of Bijjala's dynasty[31A] and since Singhna the last ruler of Bijjala's line was known to have ruled upto 1183, Basava's last date has been fixed in or after 1183.

3. Depending on the last date of Basava as 1183 or 1184, and considering the account of Somanatha that Mallikarjuna died shortly after Basava, Mallikarjuna's last date was fixed at 1185. Thus Venkataramanayya derives his entire support from the account of Somanatha and also with the help of the last known date of Choda to suggest the probable

dates to Bijjala, Basava and Mallikarjuna He concludes that though it is generally believed that Bijjala was murdered in 1168 and a little later than that Basava's demise took place, there is no solid evidence for that And moreover the internal evidence of M P Charitra, as has been just now discussed, leads to quite contrary conclusions The arguments and conclusions of Venkataramanayya were criticised by scholars, like Tammayya [32] saying that one need not think that Pandita or Basava lived till the downfall of the two dynasties that were cursed by them and thus the dates of Mallikarjuna and Basava need not be pushed so far as the 1180s

However the newly discovered record at Sangamesvara mentioning the name of Mallikarjuna Pandita and the date throws light on the last date of Pandita As was stated earlier, it is dated S 1107 i e 1185 and Sangamesvara is situated about two miles from Vellaturu,[33] where Pandita was said to have spent the last days Thus it can be taken as a definite proof to say that Mallikarjuna Pandita mentioned in that record was the famous Mallikarjuna Pandita And thus in the light of this record, Venkataramanayya's suggested date to Pandita gains support And in view of this coincidence, the other dates suggested by

this scholar depending on Somanatha's account also can be accepted While fixing the last dates of Bijjala and Basava, Desai[34] did not suggest any finality to them and said that there is no absolutely reliable evidence on this point and further said a few years of margin on either side to the suggested dates, i e 1168 to Bijjala and 1167 to Basava should be left So until further reliable evidence is available on the last date of Bijjala, the dates suggested by Venkataramanayya as 1180 to Bijjala and 1183-84 to Basava can be accepted

Thus the last date of Pandita can be fixed somewhere at 1185 And the earliest known date of Pandita as has been seen from a record of Rediyapalli of CVE 45 i e ~~1124 By 1124~~, he was known as Pandita The minimum age that can be assigned to Pandita by that date should be round about twenty years or little above So he must have been born somewhere in the beginning of 1100, and lived throughout the 12th century According to the descriptions of Somanatha, it is clear that he was an old man by the time he reached Vellaturu So it is quite possible that Pandita lived upto the middle eighties In the light of the Sangamesvara inscription, Venkataramanayya's suggestion that Pandita might have been born round about 1130 and by the time he died he must be around fiftyfour or fiftyfive

years of age[35] needs a modification and Pandita's dates can approximately ~~can~~ be fixed between 1100 and 1185

Life and activities of Mallikarjuna

Birth[36]

He was born to Brahmin parents, Gauramba and Bhimana Pandita The latter was the priest of the Bhimesvara temple at Draksharama and was an ardent devotee of Siva He had no children for a long time and so he worshipped Srisaila Mallikarjuna reciting Panchakshari very devotedly with the hope of being blessed with a son At last when a son was born to him, Bhimana Pandita named the child Mallikarjuna after the presiding deity of Srisaila

Receiving Virasaiva Diksha

According to Somanatha, Mallikarjuna was said to have received Virasaiva Diksha and observed the new faith which was mentioned as Viravrata very devotedly [37] But he had to face strong criticism from his fellow Brahmins for becoming a Virasaiva They jeered at him saying how, being born in a good Brahmin family, he could wear linga, accept Prasada and Padodaka and follow Virasaivism [38] Mallikarjuna answered so satisfactorily all the objections raised by them

that they were finally convinced [39] In course of time, it was said that Pandita was very much known to the outside world for his single-minded devotion to Siva and began attracting the Jangamas One day, he received some devotees like, Belidevi Vemanaradhya, Surasanamma and others who were described as Jangamas[40] and it was from them that Mallikarjuna heard about the religious activities of Basava [41] From that time, it appears that Mallikarjuna became a great admirer of Basava and probably he might have sent some Jangamas to the former with a request to bless him with the Kannada language

The Virasaiva movement

It is to be understood from the writings of Somanatha that Mallikarjuna launched the Virasaiva movement, probably influenced by Basava's life The former was said to have arrived at Sanadavolu, the capital of Choda II and there he had to face great oppotion from the Buddhist Guru, 'Buddha' of the king [42] However, nothing was known about Mallikarjuna's religious activities either in his native place Draksharama or on his way to Sanadavolu The Buddhist Guru was said to have become very jealous and intolerant of Pandita and complained to the king against

Pandita throwing a challenge at him to prove the superiority of his religion At his instigation, the king arranged a big religious gathering and different religious groups were summoned to attend that debate [43] But Pandita defeated convincingly the different religious leaders by quoting from the Vedas, Upanishads, Agamas and Puranas in support of his religion and thus was said to have upheld the supremacy of Siva [44] 'Buddha' ultimately had to accept defeat[45] and this led to a personal rivalry between the two leaders One day the Buddhist Guru took away the lampstand of Chenna Mallikarjuna just to interrupt Pandita s worship [46] The disciples of Pandita, Remaya and Devaya, took it as an offence to Siva and plotted against the life of the Buddhist Guru They reached Buddhalaya (temple of Buddha) which was said to have been situated in a nearby island knowing that the Guru would be going there daily to offer his prayers and hid themselves behind the shrine of the Buddha and attacked the Guru when he was prostrating before it and tortured him to death When the king came to know of it, he summoned Pandita for an explanation the latter took the blame on himself and said that he was ready to undergo the punishment The king applying the accepted rule Brahmanō nahamtavya[47] (Brahmins should not be given capital punishment), ordered the eyes of Pandita

to be removed But the latter declaring the supremacy of Siva[48] pulled out his eyes himself without giving a chance to the royal servants to execute the punishment But he did not become blind and by a miracle, he got back a new pair of eyes He tried thrice and got the eyes back The king become wild and ordered his servants to pour 'latex of Caletropis' Jebla Pālu[49] into the eyes of Mallikarjuna and thus he was made ultimately blind This led Mallikarjuna to pronounce a curse to the effect that the king Choda II and his dynasty should perish [50] Then he left Sanadavolu for Amaravati Soon the king had to face internal troubles i e misunderstandings with the ministers and sons He began suffering from a tumour on his chest and no physician could cure it Then the king, realising the offence he committed towards Pandita, sent his men to bring back Pandita offering his whole kingdom to him and expressed his readiness to become his disciple But Mallikarjuna refused to show any mercy on the king and thus it was said that the latter died and soon his dynasty also was ruined By that time, Mallikarjuna was still at Amaravati where he offered his eyes that were pulled out at Sanadavolu to Lord Amaresvara and prayed Him by singing his extempore Amarasataka Then he was blessed with the

urdhva netramulu[51] (eyes on the forehead) This tradition is preserved in the Kaifiyat of Chandavolu[52] and also in the epigraph of Chennamanedu[53] that has been mentioned earlier It was at Amaravati that Pandita received the Jangamas whom he had sent to Basava When he received the Vibhuti, brought by these Jangamas from Basava, it is said that he got the power of composing verses in Kannada also Then he wanted to see Basava and therefore started for Kalyana [54] On the way, he halted at some places where he was received by his devotees At Nirugudumula [55] he was received by Virachaki Rajayya who was the brother of Donayya, his dear disciple From there, he started to Panagallu where he was received by another disciple, Govinda Pregada, who was a treasurer of Udaya (Udayavanisvara) the ruler of that place There, one of the servants (lenka) of the king - Dhavalesu Namayya, who was known to be an ardent devotee of Siva attended to Pandita with all devotion throughout the latter's stay there, completely neglecting his duties in the court His fellow-servants complained to the king that Namayya was not even accepting the betel-leaf given by the king saying that he would not accept anything from others since it was not offered to Siva The king was very angry and summoned Namayya and ordered him to give up his life on his refusal to accept the betel-leaf The latter

was rather ready to give up his life than accept the betel-leaf from the king and thus committed suicide Mallikarjuna is said to have lost his temper at this news and cursed the ruin of the kingdom of Udaya and from there started for Vanipura where he was received by Vanipura Sankarayya [56] After spending a few days there, he is said to have started for Kalyana But he came to know about Basava's demise at Kudala Sangama which was said to have taken place a week ago Lamenting the death of Basava,[57] Mallikarjuna diverted his journey towards Srisaila and reached Vellaturu [58] Then he did not proceed to Srisaila Srisaila Parvata (Mount) is said to have appeared to Pandita from there like a glowing Sivalinga[59] and so he did not want to climb it and asked his disciple Donayya to observe his Sivaratri-vrata on his behalf and after Sivaratri as has been mentioned earlier, Mallikarjuna is said to have merged with Srisaila Mallikarjuna

Identification of the places mentioned in the story

The centre of the Buddhists

Somanatha described the temple of the Buddha where the Buddhist Guru was murdered to have been situated on an island in the ocean Samudrāntarasthali nokka lanka [60] i e

find reference to one Buddhist centre in the inscriptions belonging to the time of the rulers of Velanadu One Potinayaka of Sri Buddham is mentioned as the servant of the king of Velanadu in an epigraph of S 1073[61] This shows that Sri Buddham was under the rule of the Velanadu kings at that time Yasodadevi[62] says that Buddhavada, formerly the home of Buddhists, was in the neighbourhood of Isandavolu i e Sanadavolu cited by Somanatha So it can be identified with 'Buddham' or 'Sri Buddham' of the above mentioned epigraph and since it is situated near the sea it must have been the place that was referred to by Somanatha

Nirugudumula

Lakshmana Rao identifies this place with the present Vadigodum (which was also known as Nadigudumulu) in Nandigama Taluk of the present Krishna district[63]

Panugallu

There are two places known by the same name - one is two miles from Nalgonda and the other one in the present Mahabubnagar district,[64] ten miles from Vanaparti which is supposed to be Vanipuara[65] visited by Pandita

Udayavamsa of Panugallu

Udayavamsa of Panugallu cited in the M P Caritra was identified by almost all the scholars - with Udaya - the Choda chief of Kandurunadu But they differed in identifying Panugallu - as there are two places by the same name[64] - one in Nalgonda district within two miles from the present Nalgonda proper[65] and the other one in Mahabubnagar dist

According to K V Lakshmana Rao[66] and N Venkata Rao[67] Udaya was ruling over Panugallu in Mahabubnagar dist They appear to have said so taking into consideration the Jadacherla (Mahabubnagar dist) epigraph of 1162 where the name of Udayachoda occurs G Ramakrishna Sarma[68] also supported this view He identified the present Vanaparti, ten miles from Panugallu, with Vanipura visited by Pandita from Panugallu But according to Venkataramanayya[69] and T Venkatesvara Sarma,[70] Panugallu in Nalgonda dist was the seat of Udaya and hence it must be the place, that was visited by Pandita The view of these two scholars gains support from the writings of Parabrahma Sastri According to the account given by the latter [71] Udaya cited in Jadacherla record was Udaya II and he ruled over Panugallu in Nalgonda dist between the years 1136-1175 Kandurunadu was said to have been included the present Jadacherla, Kalva Kurty, Nagar

Kurnool and Achhampeta Taluks of present Mahabubnagar dist and Nalgonda and Miryalaguda Taluks of Nalgonda and the last mentioned two places were said to have been known as Panugallu region So Pandita must have visited Udaya II of Kandurunadu, at Panugallu in the present Nalgonda dist

Though the last known date of Udaya was said to be 1175, from the internal evidence of M P Caritra he appears to have lived upto 1180-1181 as Pandita was known to have visited Panugallu and cursed Udaya after the death of Choda II of Velanadu i e 1180 From Panugallu, Pandita must have visited Vanipura or Wanaparti (Mahabubnagar dist) which is not very far from Srisailam

CHAPTER III

MALLIKARJUNA PANDITA S LIFE

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Diksha Pra p 7

2 The Jangamas who paid a visit to Mallikarjuna compared him with Basava saying Jangama prani nasadbhakti baraga bhangigi Sangana Basavanna nadu Vasudha Jangamaparavasya Sadbhakti yasalara lokaradhya nedu Ibid p 256

3 Ibid pp 25-26

4 Vada Pra pp 512-13

5 STS Ondemi Mallikarjuna anditudana LL 1 and 2

6 Diksha Pra pp 10-12

7 S P K S VSV p 149

8 Intro to STS 1922, p 26

9 Venkata Rao LTP p 72

10 Intro to LDC pp 402-48

11 Rama Rao Ins of AD Vol II (Unpublished) 6 of 1941-42

12 Tel Ins Vol II p 171 No 14

13 H A S A record at Dharmasagar in Warangal district Venkata Rao says that Panditaradhya of this inscription has to be taken as Kedarayya, the son of Mallikarjuna

Intro STS p 24 But it does not appear so since Mallikarjuna lived upto 1185 it is quite possible to accept the sons o Panditaradhya of the record as the sons of Mallikarjuna but not as the sons of Kedarayya i e the grand sons of Mallikarjuna

15 Ed N Venkataramanayya A P Government Report on Epigraphy for 1965, p 103

16 662 of 1920 M Rama Rao IAD Vol II (Unpublished)

~~16 ARSIE 1926 Para 52~~

17 VV 431-33

18 V 440

19 Ibid

20 Discussed in the beginning of this Ch

21 The political condition" I Ch

22 Parvata Pra 227 ff Vellaturu p 232 Asking Donayya to observe Sivaratri Vrata pp 248-49 The return of Donayya and the end of Mallikarjuna pp 543 ff

23 "Sivaratri Jagarana" Ibid pp 469-470

24 Intro STS 1922 p 5

25 Mahima Pra p 12

26 Ibid pp 56-59

27 Palakuriki Somanatha Kavi pp 96-97

28 Intro to STS p 18

29 Intro to STS 1922, pp 16-26

30 Yasodadevi HAC JAHRS Vol XVIII 1947-48 pp 104-110

31 Palakuriki Somanathu deppativadu ? Madras 1955, pp 14-30

32 P S Kavi p 97

33 Tel Ins Vol II p 214 No 14

34 P 103 and 298

35 P 30

36 Diksha Pra pp 28-29

37 Ibid pp 29-31

38 P 31

39 Pp 31-118

40 P 163

41 P 206 ff

42 Vada Pra pp 503-505

43 Ibid pp 505-508

44 Pp 522 ff

45 Mahima Pra p 4

46 Ibid p 8 ff and the following pages for the other events

47 Ibid p 18

48 Pp 21 ff

49 P 50

50 Pp 57-69

51 P 98

52 Local Record Vol 19 p 433 quoted by Venkata Rao Intro to STS pp 15-16

53 'The Historicity of Mallikarjuna 'The inscriptional evidence' of the present Ch

54 Mahima Pra pp 96-178

55 Ibid 178-196

56 Pp 198-199

57 Pp 199-221

58 Parvata Pra p 232

59 Ibid 246

60 Mahima Pra p 9

61 285 of 1932

62 Yasodadevi, History of Andhra country Vol XXVI 1960-61, p 99

63 Intro STS 1922, p 16

64 Venkataramanayya, Palakuriki Somanathadeppativadu p 17

65 Tigulla Venkatesvara Sarma, 'Nalgonda Dist ' Sangraha Andhra Vijnana Kosamu, (Ed) M Venkatarangayya, Vol V, Hyderabad 1966, p 621

66 Intro to STS 1922, p 18

67 " 1968 p 15

68 Sangraha Andhra Vijnana Kosamu, 'Nalgonda Dist pp 17-21

69 Op cit pp 17-21

70 Op cit

71 JAHRS, Vol XXXVI Part-I 1975-76, pp 3-9

CHAPTER IV

MALLIKARJUNA'S RELIGION

According to Sivatatvasaramu

In this chapter, we first discuss Mallikarjuna's religion as revealed in his own work Sivatatvasaramu and then follow it with a discussion of his religion according to Somanatha From these two sources, we get two different pictures According to Sivatatvasaramu, Mallikarjuna was not a ~~complete~~ Virasaiva, whereas according to Somanatha he was At the end of the chapter an attempt is made to explain the differences

No Virasaiva terminology

No Virasaiva ~~tenets~~ like wearing linga, ~~or~~ worship of Pranalinga, and Shatsthala Siddhanta are to be found in Sivatatvasaramu We do not find either the word Virasaiva or ~~at least~~ Viramahesvarachara, which was used as a synonym to Virasaivism by Somanatha, in Pandita's work The latter dealt with Sivadiksha without conveying any clear significance Hence his use of this term has led to controversies among scholars Those who argued that it

was Lingadharana diksha and Pandita dealt with Lingadharana in his work accepted him as Virasaiva and an Aradhya The other group of scholars argued that Pandita did not deal with Lingadharana and so did not accept him as a Virasaiva finding Pandita dealing at length with the concepts of Pati, Pasu and Pasa, they described him as a Pasupata Thus different views have been expressed on the religion of Pandita viz , that he was a Virasaiva a Pasupata and an Aradhya Lakshmana Rao[1] expressed his own doubts that it was not clear whether Pandita meant Lingadiksha when he mentioned Sivadiksha According to Prabhakara Sastri[2] there was no mention of Lingadiksha and Lingadharana in Sivatatvasaramu So Pandita according to him was not a Virasaiva and finding some Pasupata concepts therein Prabhakara Sastri expressed his opinion that the former was a Pasupata Ramakrishna Sastri[3] at one place stated that Pandita was a Brahma of Virasaiva literature and his Sivatatvasaramu was its Veda and at another place he said that Pandita was a Pasupata J Chenna Reddy[4] expresses similar views - that Pandita was a Pasupata and a Virasaiva

Mudigonda Nagalinga Sastri,[5] Tammayya,[6] Venkata Rao[7] and Hanumantha Rao[8] opined that Pandita dealt with

Lingadharana Hanumantha Rao says that Basavesvara of Karnataka and Mallikarjuna of Andhra were the chief exponents of Virasaivism And in course of time, the term Virasaivism came to be limited to the teachings of Basava and while those of Pandita branched off into the distinct cult of Aradhyas At another place he writes that Mallikarjuna systematised Aradhya Saivism

Keeping these different opinions expressed by scholars in view, now let us study the religion of Pandita in the light of Sivatatvasaramu

Single minded and unflinching devotion to Siva

Throughout his work, Mallikarjuna dealt with single-minded[9] and unflinching devotion[10] to Siva Even in dream one should not think of any other god excepting Siva[11] and the worship of Siva should not be given up under any circumstance He declared the supremacy of Siva[12] and His devotees[13] over other Gods and other devotees respectively

The worship of Sivabhaktas

He propagated that one should worship the devotees of Siva[14] without taking their caste[15] into consideration

According to him, Siva exists in Sivabhaktas[16] and so they are to be taken as 'moving lingas'[17] or the manifestations of Rudra Worshipping Siva, without worshipping Siva-bhaktas or Sivayogis, was of no use [18] According to him, one should forget oneself and the outer world while worshipping Siva But seeing the devotees of Siva one should forget even Siva and worship them [19] He preached that by feeding one Sivayogi one derives the amount of merit or punya equal to the punya of feeding ~~one~~ even a crore of Brahmins [20] According to him, caste distinctions should not be observed so far as the devotees of Siva were concerned Even an out-caste, if he happened to be a Sivabhakta, should be looked upon as a Brahmin [21] One who had Sivabhakti should be looked upon as one who had everything [22] He stated that Sivabhaktas like the Brahmins should be exempted from capital punishment [23] Even if they committed murder it was no sin since they were sure of reaching Sivaloka [24] In this respect, Mallikarjuna differs from Basava who laid so much stress on the moral conduct of the devotees [25]

Pandita did not favour Jnanamarga [26] According to him, the real Jnana is the knowledge of Siva i e to know that He is the Pati and jivas are Pasus [27]

He was an upholder of Bhaktimarga [28] The true nature

of Siva could be realised only through devotion It is the primary thing that one should have [29] All the religious observances in the absence of bhakti are said to be useless [30] One's beauty, wealth, knowledge and high caste - all are waste in the absence of devotion [31]

Of the various aspects that are dealt with by Mallikarjuna, it appears that he gave the highest priority to unflinching devotion to Siva He preached that Siva was not pleased with one's vratas [32] He was not to be won over either by one's Japas, Tapas and Upavasas [33] (fasts) and would not be won over by Mantras or Tantras [34] nor by taking holy baths, making gifts or observing silence (mounavrata) or performing sacrifices [35] But he would be pleased with devotion only In this respect, he appears to be a true liberal as he did not insist on any systematic way of observing religious practices

Pati, Pasa and Pasu

Mallikarjuna dealt at length with the following concepts [36] According to him, Siva was the Pati or lord of all the living beings including Hari, Brahma and the smallest ant in the universe Brahmōkta samasta Hari Brahmādi pipīlikānta Paśuvulakellan Brahmēsvara Rudra nīva pati [37] The

difference between Siva and Jiva according to him was like the difference between the whole of the earth and an atom [38] Siva was the master and Jiva was the servant [39] Jiva was said to be held in ten different stages like bandha (the grip of the worldly noose) and moksha (release from it) [40] But Siva was above all these stages. So one should not think of the union between Siva and Jiva [41] He criticised the Advaitins for propagating the concept of union or Advaita philosophy [42] He attacked the Advaitins saying that if Jiva happened to be a part of the Supreme soul, how the former could come under the influence of Mithya or illusion [43] So according to Mallikarjuna, the union between the two was unthinkable even at the final stage of the goal of Jiva

contrast N Vachana era

The concept and the process of 'Moksha'

Mallikarjuna believed that one who worshipped Siva devotedly would be shown mercy by Him By the grace of Lord Siva, the souls who are Pasus would be released from the Pasutva, the state of being the Pasus or the noose of the world which was mentioned as the great ocean of sorrow, qualified by three malas or impurities But even at this stage the released souls do not become one

with Siva but they shine like Him <u>Trimalakruta duhkha samsāra mahābdi nimagana jīvarāsulu niyuttama kārunya vaśambuna vimuktulai nīvapōle veluguduru Śiva</u> '[44] He requests Siva to release him from the ocean of <u>Samsara</u> and to take him to the midst of the <u>Pramatha Ganas</u>, to carry out His orders [45] Thus Mallikarjuna appears to be a pure <u>Dvaita</u>[46] and in this respect he completely differs from Basava's school of philosophy where the ultimate goal of <u>Jiva</u> is to achieve the union between <u>Jiva</u> and Siva, which ~~is the purpose~~ through the process of <u>Satsthala Siddhanta</u> [47]

He appears to have attempted to bring synthesis between various things He showed reverence and pronounced victory to Vedas, cows, Brahmins, <u>Panchakshari</u>, <u>Vibhuti</u> and <u>Mahesvaras</u> [48] He showed his adherence to <u>Sikha</u> (or the tuft of hair on the head) and <u>yajnopavita</u>[49] (the holy thread)

He believed that one could develop devotion by observing <u>Sadachara</u> (approved conduct) in accordance with the Vedas As a result of it, the souls would be released of their sins and <u>dharma</u> would be improved[50] and in return it would promote bhakti [51] The process of promoting <u>bhakti</u> described by Mallikarjuna suggests that he might have meant it for Brahmins since the Vedic <u>dharma</u> is being

observed only by them

Guru, Sivadiksha and Sivanirmalya

According to Mallikarjuna, to get rid of Karma, Siva devotees should take Sivanirmalya[52] (that is offered to Siva) and they should not eat or drink anything even medicine without offering it to Siva[53] But one must become eligible to receive Sivanirmalya by accepting Sivadiksha by which they would be purified from their malas or the impurities[54] Those who were not purified from the Malas i e those who did not receive initiation were prohibited from taking Sivanirmalya[55]

All the devotees who would receive Diksha from the same Guru should be considered as brothers[56] He insisted that the priests in the temples should take initiation[57] He said that one should not touch Sivalinga without Diksha 'Siva' was said to be the Guru of those who were blessed with the devotion to Siva by birth as a result of their samskara of their previous birth and in that case their Diksha was said to be Sambhavadiksha[58] This description suggests that Mallikarjuna did not insist on Sivadiksha for all It appears that, according to Mallikarjuna, if one happened to be a devotee by birth, he need no take

Diksha

The controversy about Mallikarjuna's Sivadiksha

As has been already mentioned, scholars have expressed different views on the aspect of Sivadiksha described by Mallikarjuna - whether he meant it to be Lingadharana-diksha or ordinary Diksha Those who argue that Pandita mentioned Lingadharana in Sivatatvasaramu and Sivadiksha means Lingadiksha only derive their support from the following points According to Mudigonda Nagalinga Sastri,[59]

1 The whole of Sivatatvasaramu is not available So it is not justifiable to come to the conclusion that Lingadharana is not mentioned in it

2 In M P Charitra, Mallikarjuna is described as performing Lingarchana when he was visited by the Jangamas Then he was said to have had Vibhuti and Rudrakshas (holy beads) on him If he had not linga on his body it was not possible for him to perform Lingarchana Because of Lingadharana-diksha only that chapter was named as Dikshaprakarana

3 In Basavapuranamu, Karasthali Somanathayya was described as a disciple of Panditaradhya The word

Karasthali (~~born to the hand~~) according to Nagalinga Sastri is to be taken as suggesting Lingadiksha of Mallikarjuna

4 In Sivatatvasaramu, Pandita warned that worshipping Sivalinga without worshipping the Jangamalingas i e moving lingas, was a waste This verse clearly shows the Lingadharana aspect in Sivatatvasaramu since one cannot be called as a moving linga unless one has linga on his body

5 Pandita described Basava as lingasamēta i e Basava having linga on his body So it has to be accepted that lingadharana has been dealt with by Pandita in his work

Accepting these views, Venkata Rao[60] expressed some more points in support of the same view

1) According to him, it need not be said that Lingadharanadiksha was not mentioned in M P Charitra, In the name of the chapter, Dikshaprakarana itself the meaning was implied Without Lingadharana, one cannot perform Lingarchana Since M P Charitra is a kavya, the technical concepts regarding the religious practices were not dealt with in detail But they were only hinted

2) In Sarvesvarasataka, it is said that linga is to be found always on the bodies of the devotees

Tammayya[61] approving the views of Nagalinga Sastri argues that

1) Sivadiksha means Lingadiksha only and according to him it was cited in three verses in Sivatatvasaramu Of the three, V No 153 (was quoted by Nagalinga Sastri and others also) describes the worship of moving lingas In another verse, quoted by Tammayya i e V No 156 the same expression is used In the third verse No 220, it is said that those who receive Sivadiksha would be purified from the malas and they could take Sivanirmalya.

2) If Mallikarjuna Pandita were not a Lingadhari, Somanatha who observed the vrata or vow of not seeing the bhavi, bhavijana darśana sparśanatapa vividha dānādāna vishayadūraguda,[61A] (not to see, touch or think of bhavis) would not have taken up the work of composing M P Charitra

3) In M P Charitra, Pandita is described as having received Lingadiksha So it should be accepted that Mallikarjuna dealt with Lingadharana in his work

Hanumantha Rao[62] does not agree with Prabhakara

Sastri's view that Pandita and other Aradhyas did not have Lingadharana till the times of Krishnadeva Raya, and stated that Pandita referred to the wearing of linga, twice in V No 153 (the very verse referred to by the rest of the scholars) - speaking about the worship of Jangama lingamu and 433 And Sivadiksha mentioned in VV 224-230 and V 25 was said to have dealt with the practice of wearing linga called Istalinga.[62]

Thus these four scholars tried to support their view both from internal and from external evidences

Let us first discuss the external evidences they quoted According to Nagalinga Sastri and Venkata Rao Lingadharana was hinted in M P Charitra by naming the chapter as Dikshaprakarana and referring to Mallikarjuna's Lingadharana According to the latter, since M P Charitra is a Kavya the technical terms regarding the religious concepts were not dealt with These statements are far from the truth In Dikshaprakarana, it is clearly stated that Pandita received Pranalinga and Lingadharana also is dealt at length in the same chapter The Brahmins asked Pandita whether he could wear linga and Pandita replied supporting Lingadharana at length [63] But all these statements are made by Somanatha So it can not be stated in

support of Pandita s Lingadharana according to his own work The same argument can be applied to Karasthali Somanathayya who was described as the disciple of Pandita by Somanatha According to Somanatha, Pandita's Lingadharana is not at all a disputable point In the same way the mention of it in Sarvesvarasataka cannot be taken in support of the view that Pandita dealt with Lingadharana in Sivatatvasaramu

All the scholars quoted the verse 153 where the bhakta is described as movable linga But according to Pandita ~~used the expression that~~ the Sivabhaktas were the manifestations of Siva ~~in many verses~~ He specifically mentioned that whoever smears Vibhuti and wears Rudraksha should be looked upon as Rudras He never mentioned or hinted at the practice of wearing linga So according to him Jangamalingamu, means movable or moving Sivabhaktas who wear rudrakshas and smear vibhuti, ~~but not linga~~ Rudrāksha bhūtibhūshana mudrānkitu neduruganna mudamuna sāksadrudrudani talapadēni sivadrōhudu narakagāmi yagunu,[64] but not linga

In verse No 175 it is said that Rudras from Rudraloka came to the earth as Sivabhaktas for the good of the world

Pandita described that one should worship the Sivabhakta who was moving linga, and it is stated in the same

verse that the worship of moveable linga is worth than worshipping sthavaralinga[65] From this statement, it can be said that he did not hint at the practice of wearing linga As is described in M P Charitra, the worship of the Jangamas has been given more prominence than the worship of Pranalinga in Virasaivism but not the worship of sthavaralinga The worship of the latter finds no place in Virasaivism If he meant Lingadharana, and the worship of Pranalinga he would not have said that it was better than worshipping sthavaralinga and would have replaced it by linga or Pranalinga

In the light of this verse, the argument that Sivatatvasaramu is not a completely extant work and the practice of Lingadharana might have been mentioned in the verses that were lost, also does not appear to be a justifiable one, as Pandita specifically has used the word sthavaralinga,[66] where he ought to have used the term Pranalinga[66] Moreover he did not believe in the concept of Pranalinga

Pranalinga in Virasaivism

Virasaivas believe that Siva resides in the Jivas in the form of Chaitanya and thus the individual soul is

the Supreme Siva under the influence of Avidya - which can be removed not only by gaining Jnana of the Supreme Self but also by kriya i e strict observance of prescribed forms The Chaitanya form of Siva that resides in the disciple is extracted in the form of linga i e Pranalinga, by the Guru and given it to the disciple The soul that gains the knowledge is automatically freed from Maya or Avidya and becomes united with Siva Thus it is said that the tendency of Virasaivism as has been revealed in the Vacana sastras of the 12th century is undoubtedly monistic (Advaita) generally agreeing with the teachings of Sankaracharya[10A]

It appears from the above description that the concept of Pranalinga, that is worn on the body by the Virasaivas does not fit into the teachings of Pandita He did not approve the theory of Avidya or illusion which makes the soul feel as a separate entity from the Supreme being and according to Pandita unity between the two is unimaginable at any stage So strictly speaking, there was no provision for the worship of Pranalinga according to the teachings of Mallikarjuna That must be the reason why he did not mention Lingadharana of the bhaktas when he said so much about vibhutidharana

and rudrakshadharana As was stated by Venkannaiah, from Pandita's description of Basava as 'lingasamēta' in his work it can be said that Pandita was aware of the practice of Lingadharana but not that he dealt about it when he referred to Sivadiksha

Sivadiksha, unless Lingadharana is specifically mentioned in association with it, cannot be accepted as Lingadharanadiksha as was wrongly argued by Tammayya Visvesvara Sivacharya[67] is called the Dikshaguru of Ganapatideva But it was obviously not Lingadiksha In the same way, the example of Sivadiksha that is described in Kumarasambhavamu[68] can be taken to mean that 'Sivadiksha' cannot be taken for granted for Lingadharana-diksha unless it is stated otherwise

According to Tammayya, if Pandita were not a Lingadhari, Somanatha, who observed the vrata of not seeing or talking to bhavi would not have composed the work on Mallikarjuna Pandita In this argument, he interpreted the word bhavi as one who did not have Lingadharana But at another place Tammayya only said that the word bhavi had been used to those who were not Sivabhaktas He said that Somanatha described many devotees in Basavapuranamu and M P Charitra, but there was no evidence to accept them as

having had Lingadharana [69] Thus he has made contradictory statements But his latter statement can be accepted since Somanatha paid tributes to all the Sivabhaktas whether they were Lingadharies or not Hence, the argument that Somanatha would not have composed M P Charitra if Mallikarjuna were not a Lingadhari, cannot be accepted

Thus it can be stated that Pandita propagated unflinching devotion to Siva and he gave it the highest priority over everything else He dealt with Sivadiksha but it was not Lingadiksha But he was aware of Basava's wearing linga Though the bhakti aspect of Pandita was very similar to that of Basava's teachings, Pandita differed radically with Basava regarding the relationship between the soul and supreme soul So, as has been stated earlier, according to Sivatatvasaramu, Pandita cannot be claimed as a Virasaiva for the following reasons

1 He did not accept the fundamental principles of Virasaiva philosophy i e the union between the soul and Supreme soul

2 He did not mention Lingadharana or the worship of Pranalinga

3 He showed his adherence to Vedas, Brahmins, cows, Sikha, Gayatri and yajnopavita which are not accepted by the Virasaivas So the statement of Ramakrishna Sastri that Sivatatvasaramu of Mallikarjuna pandita was the Veda of Virasaiva literature in Andhra and the author as its Brahma cannot be accepted

Was he an Aradhya ?

1 Pandita did not suggest or give any name to his teachings Moreover he did not use the term Aradhya to denote the system as it is known today He used it to describe Siva saying that Siva was the Aradhya and the devotee was the Aradhaka Aradhyumdaradhaku daradhaka managa leni yadvaita durachara kruta sarva sunyakara sthithi nemiseyaga vachhu siva '[70]

Note

2 The present day Aradhyas accept Lingadharana and the concept of the union between the soul and Supreme soul and Lingadharana is the most important aspect that differentiates Aradhyas from the other Brahmins In the absence of that concept, Pandita cannot be said to have been a full-fledged Aradhya So Hanumantha Rao's view that Pandita systematised the Aradhya system cannot be accepted But as has been stated by the same scholar elsewhere that

Pandita's teachings might have branched off into the distinct cult of the Aradhyas later on The followers of Mallikarjuna must have accepted Lingadharana in course of time and must have called themselves or been referred to by others as Aradhyas

Was he a Pasupata ?

Prabhakara Sastri was the first to express the opinion that Pandita was a Pasupata He stated that Mallikarjuna's religious concepts were very similar to the Pasupata concepts found in Srikanthabhashya He said that the Pasupata system, known from that Bhashya was associated with Panchakshari, Prasada, smearing the body with the ash, Lingarchana, wearing Rudraksha and the concepts of Pasu-Pati-Pasa and it does not insist on ascetic life Since all these concepts are to be traced in Sivatatvasaramu, Mallikarjuna Pandita was considered to be a Pasupata According to S V Pathak,[71] Srikantha was the founder of the Pasupata system and it is to be noted that ascetic life for the Pasupatas was not insisted in his teachings

J Chenna Reddy agreed with Prabhakara Sastri's views on Pandita's religion and expressed the opinion that the

religious concepts of Pandita were very similar to those of the Pasupata tenets i e Vibhutidharana, Rudraksha, Yajnopavita, married life and varnasrama dharma that are to be found in the work of Gunaratnasuri of the 14th century,[72] the commentator of Harabhadra's Saddarsana Samuchchaya Let us examine the plausibility of the view, whether Pandita was a Pasupata We find some points in support of it in Sivatatvasaramu

1 To start with, the suffix 'Pandita' to the name of Mallikarjuna suggests that he might have been a Pasupata As has been stated earlier, some of the Pasupata and Kalamukha priests of Mediaeval Andhra were known from inscriptions to have the suffix of either Pandita or rasi to their names [73] Mallikarjuna's father also had the suffix 'Pandita' to his name i e Bhimana Pandita [74]

2 Mallikarjuna Pandita at certain places showed his appreciation of the Pasupatas by mentioning that word [75] While attacking the advaitins he stated that Brahma, Vishnu, Suras and Munis were all Pasupatas having knotted hair, Rudraksha and Bhasma applied to bodies This description suggests that Mallikarjuna must have been a Pasupata since he spoke in favour of it while attacking a rival faith Before tracing and comparing the Pasupata

concepts of Pandita with the Pasupata system let us know what this system is

The Pasupata system, known from different works like Atharvasiropanishat,[76] the Pasupata Sutras with the Bhashya of Kaundinya,[77] the Sarvadarshana Sangraha of Madhvacharya[78] is associated with five subjects, 1) Karya or effect, 2) Karana or the cause which is Isvara or Mahesvara, 3) Yoga which is absorption in meditation or the muttering of the syllable Om 4) Vidhi i e bathing in ashes, and 5) Duhkhanta

The effect or karya is associated with Pasu and cause or Karana is that of Pati [79] The goal of the soul or Pasu is the total annihilation of all kinds of sorrow or Duhkhanta, and according to Kaundinya, this can be achieved not by Jnana or knowledge - but by the grace of Siva [80] The disciple should follow ascetic practices recommended by the lord and then only he attains liberation through grace Thus according to Kaundinya, the ascetic practices were said to be an important part of this system

According to Atharvasiropanishat, it is known that for the knowledge of Rudra one should have single-minded devotion and besmear the body with ash for the removal of

the noose and utter Om [81] Here single-minded devotion and smearing Vibhuti are said to be important aspects of the system

It is said that the bhasma was given so much prominence in the Pasupata system that it is said to be known as linga or sign of linga [82] It is however quite interesting to note the information given by A P Karmarkar that the Pasupatas besmear their bodies with sand instead of ash [83]

It is said that the Pasupata system did not accept Anavamala which is said to be responsible for Ajnana or ignorance [84] According to Tammayya, Pasupatas were said to have been known for their worship of linga, given to them by their Guru, which they kept either in the hand or on a raised seat (Pithamu) [85]

Hanumantha Rao says that the Pasupatas worship Siva in the form of linga and wear it on their body especially in their hair [86]

It is said that according to the belief of the Pasupatas the liberated soul, even at the time of emancipation would not become one with Siva but it could be in perpetual contact with Siva by means of its concentration (or mental steadiness) on Siva [87] Thus the released jivas

of the noosé more or less achieve an equal status with Siva and carry out His orders as his representatives [88]

According to Gunaratna, the Naiyayikas were classified under Pasupatas since they were known to have had similar practices and philosophical attitudes as that of Vaisesikas who were called as Pasupatas The Naiyayikas had matted locks of hair, smeared their body with ashes and wore holy thread Their chief mantra was Om Namah Sivaya Initiation or (Diksha) was recommended to them They are said to have lived generally in the forests living on roots and fruits Some of them were Grihasthas and some were not They performed the sacrificial duties of fire [89]

To sum up the tenets of the Pasupata system given in the various works, it can be said that this system was associated with five principles, karya, karana, yoga, vidhi and Duhkhanta They did not favour J̃nana marga The final deliverance of the soul will be achieved through the grace of God Single-minded devotion, uttering 'Om' besmearing the body with ash are said to be its important aspects The prominence of bhasma is said to be so much that it was known as linga Initiation, and worshipping linga was there Some of the Pasupatas were said to have worn the

linga also The released souls were said to have been gaining equal status with Siva and carrying out His orders as His representatives According to Gunaratna's accounts, they were known to have had matted locks of hair, applied ash, the holy thread and Panchakshari and sacrificial duties were mentioned in association with them On the whole, there was no hard and fast rule that one should lead an ascetic life because it was said to be an essential thing in some works and according to some it was not

In the light of these concepts, it can be said that Sivatatvasaramu deals with all the aspects mentioned above The five aspects Karana or Pati, effect or Pasu, the final deliverance or Duhkhanta, yoga or constant meditation and vidhi or bathing in ashes can be found in it Siva is said to be the Pati or Karana of everything [90] Siva is said to be the cause of the Universe Jagatkāryamunaku nīva yādikartavu Rudra '[91] Duhkhanta is said to be ultimate goal of Jiva in Sivatatvasaramu The released souls are mentioned to have become equal[92] with Siva and carried out His orders [93] This concept has been stated very specifically in that work As has been seen Bhasma, Yajnopavita and initiation are-a-part of the system Mallikarjuna did not accept Jnana marga He stressed single-minded

devotion He believed that the deliverance of the soul will take place only because of the mercy of Siva Thus most of the concepts dealt with by Mallikarjuna very well tally with the Pasupata system

So he can be considered to be a Pasupata But there are certain special features of his teachings that do not fit appropriately into the Pasupata sect Mallikarjuna gave much prominence to unflinching devotion whereas we do not find it so much emphasised in the Pasupata system though single-minded devotion is described to be one of the important aspects of the Pasupatas Mallikarjuna showed his highest regard to Sivabhaktas irrespective of their caste This spirit of equality among the Saiva devotees is not to be seen in the Pasupata system These two aspects of Mallikarjuna's preachings were the most important features of the teachings of the Saiva Nayanars of the Tamil country

K A N Sastri[94] observes that the Saiva Nayanars of Tamil country evolved a new type of bhkati - a fervent emotional surrender to God This new bhakti movement is said to have reached its peak in the 7th century It was characterised by an outspoken hatred for Jainism and from 9th century it is known for its protest for Advaita

philosophy This protest is said to be the core of the bhakti cult since the ultimate aim of the devotee is not to lose his identity in the impersonal Absolute but to attain and enjoy for all times the blissful company of a personal God [95]

Summarising the main aspects of the bhakti movement of the Saiva Nayanaras, C V Narayana Ayyar[96] writes that the life of devotion to Siva is considered as more important than sticking to the duties prescribed for the various castes It was said that in the opinion of a Saiva, no service to God was high or low in itself The Bhaktas were to have not only unflinching devotion to Siva but the highest respect for the Sivabhaktas The real test of Bhakti consisted in two things, first the determination to carry it through in spite of odd obstacles and second the doing of the thing without expectation of any return The virtue of worshipping Sivabhaktas was regarded even superior to the worship of Siva himself This aspect is said to have been illustrated well in the Periyapuranam and some Nayanaras are known to have approved violence like cutting nose, hands and even killing the persons that stood in their way Sometimes they used to indulge in heroic activities like cutting their own limbs [97]

With the background of these aspects of the preachings of Saiva Nayanars, it can be said that Mallikarjuna was their true follower Like the Saiva Nayanars, he vehemently criticised Jains, Buddhists[98] and Advaitins [99] He paid tributes to some of the Nayanars who were known for their unflinching devotion and approved their violence [100] But at the sametime, Mallikarjuna showed his adherence to Vedas, Brahmins, Gayatri mantra and Yajnopavita also From this it can be said that Mallikarjuna was profoundly influenced by the devotional aspect and worshipping of the Sivabhaktas Towards the end of the 10th century,[101] the Vengi Chalukya rulers came under the domination of the Cholas and from then onwards the contacts between Andhra and the Tamil country increased and thus the preachings of Saiva Nayanars might have slowly found their way into Andhra Thus it is quite possible for Mallikarjuna to have been influenced by their teachings [102] Of course, the bhakti aspect of the Nayanars influenced even Basava and his followers But however Basava did not approve of violence Nor did he appreciate the heroic deeds of the Nayanars like cutting one's own limbs It was in the hands of Basava and his followers that the bhakti aspect was given a new treatment with the newly evolved philosophy and

tenets of its own and stress on the moral conduct of the devotees But Mallikarjuna appears to have accepted the Bhakti aspect of the Nayanars as it was preached without giving up his adherence to the Pasupata principles and other Brahmin practices Hence it can be stated that Pandita made an attempt to bring about a synthesis between the various religious aspects - the Pasupata system and the devotionalism of the Nayanars without giving up, adherence to Vedas, Brahmins, Sikha Yajnopavita and Gayatri So far we were concerned with the religion of Mallikarjuna as described in his own work Sivatatvasaramu and we also compared his teachings with those of Basava Now we propose to take up Somanatha's account of Mallikarjuna's religion in M P Charitra

Mallikarjuna's religion according to Somanatha

As has been already stated, according to the account given by Somanatha, Pandita received Virasaiva diksha and had Lingadharana He is said to have received Pranalinga and Prasada in accordance with Virasaivism from guru Sri-Kotipalli Aradhyadevu Virasaivoktavidhi, 'sadgurubhyo niyedaye ttanaga sakshatbhavu sivu srikotipalli ayaradhyadevu Sripadu kendivarambulaku narpanamacharinchi padaci pranarpana pranalingambu, vadaci prasadambu, vadaci

taddhana samarpana jangamambu [103]

The process of diksha received by Mallikarjuna appears to be very similar to the diksha of Basava's school. The Guru was said to have purified the disciple, Mallikarjuna from malas or impurities, performed hastamastakasamyōga and then given him the pranalinga.

bahupūrvajanma malādipankambanachi vīrabhakti dīkshādi samskāravidhu lācharinci hasta svakīya mastakasamyōga vistāra vidhula pānca bhoutikasuddhi bhāvasuddhiyu srujinch [104]

The worship of Pranalinga and Jangamas

He is said to have been devoted to Linga and Jangama and to have been very systematic in worshipping Linga (Lingarchana). ~~And also~~ He was known to have believed in the concept that worshipping Linga is not worshipping the Jangamas but worshipping the Jangamas is worshipping the Linga. As has been said already, when he was visited by the Jangamas, Belideva Vemanaradhya and others he was described to have been performing Sivarchana. But hearing of the arrival of the Jangamas, he stopped Lingarchana and received the Jangamas.

Majjanamarcharinchu samayambunanu sūrasānamma, jangamamu Belidēvi Vemanapanditulunu janudēra Panditēndrudu Jangama vēshambu lingadarpana susangatambai waki linga vikriyalvodala lingarcana kanaka, karasthali lingamunnavādanaka, Harunaku munna simhāsanambaina ka-amu narchana lichchu karamu mōdchi mrokkanga[105] (When he was doing abhisheka to linga the Jangamas came Pandita took the Jangamas as Linga and without thinking that he was having linga in the hand, stopped attending to linga and thus brought his both hands, one - which is serving as the seat of linga and the other performing worship together to do pranama to the Jangamas)

The Astavaranas[106]

We find the mention of the various aspects of Astavarana, Guru Linga, Jangama, Prasada, Padodaka Rudraksha, Vibhuti and Panchakshari in association with Pandita though not under the heading of the technical word Astavarana

The Panchacaras

The five Acharas 1 Lingacara, conduct towards the Linga, 2 Sadacara - praiseworthy or good character, 3 Bhaktacara - behaviour or conduct towards Siva's devotees

or towards other members of the Virasaiva faith, 4 Siva-cara - conduct towards Siva, and 5 Ganacara - conduct towards Siva's band of spirits, which are mentioned to be as important as Astavaranas to the Virasaivas,[107] also can be traced in association with Pandita Pandita was said to have been known for his virtuous character In so many respects he was compared to Siva Himself [108] Thus he was known for his Sadacara Lingacara and Bhaktacara can be seen in his worship of Linga and Jangamas His unflinching devotion can be taken for his Sivacara and Ganacara is very obviously seen in Mallikarjuna He treated all the Sivabhaktas as Ganas of Siva We find the mention of his paying tributes to Rudraganas and to Sivabhaktas using the terms like Rudraganasankīrtanamu, yōgāchāryagana-sankīrtanamu, shōdasaganasankīrtanamu, dasaganasankīrtanamu and Trayodasaganasankīrtanamu [109]

Thus we find all most all the Virasaiva concepts described in association with Pandita

Virasaivism of Mallikarjuna and Basava

Though the main concepts of Virasaivism of Mallikarjuna are very similar to those of Basava still certain differences can be traced between the teachings of these two

leaders Basava and his followers did not try to show any adherence to Vedas and other Brahmin literature whereas Mallikarjuna tried to derive his main support from various religious scriptures like Vedas, Upanishads, Agamas and Puranas Though the latter did not accept the supremacy of the Vedas saying that they are not gods, daivambulu gāvu vēdamulu vēdambu daivamēniyunu cheppumā yokadaityuniche mringabadune[110] still he was not ready to give up their prominence He tried to support the various tenets of Virasaivism as pro-Vedic [111] Even Basava in the words of Mallikarjuna was described to have propagated Virasaivism as pro-Vedic faith Basavanayu nīgarbha vāsambu jochche savaidikamu vīrabhaktimārgambani jangamamamu lingamani[112]

Though Mallikarjuna preached the principle of equality of Sivabhaktas irrespective of their castes, he appears to have supported the Varnasramadharma While answering the Brahmins that smearing Vibhuti is completely in accordance with the Vedic practice, he quoted from Atharvana Veda, Rudropanishat Bhimagama, Svetasvetaropanishat and explained the different ways of applying Vibhuti by different castes saying that Tripundram Brahmanō, (for Brahmins it should be smeared in three lines) Vartulam nripa Vaisyayō

(the kings and Vaisyas should smear it round) Ardha-chandram Tuva Sudrana[113] (for Sudras it should be a half circle) But the pro-Vedic spirit is not to be found in Basava's Vacanas

The guru of Mallikarjuna, the Jangamas and his followers were Brahmins and great scholars Kotipalli Aradhyadeva, the guru of Mallikarjuna was a great Acharya of Sivadharma and proficient in Advaita, Nyaya and Vaiseshika philosophies and one who propagated devotion that can be explained in the light of Veda Vedanta Vividha-puranas [114] Kotipalli Aradhya also was said to have his guru, namely Avantara Desika or Pandita He was described as a scholar of four Vedas, Caturvedarthavetta, and proficient in yama, niyama, Sama and Dama practices [115]

We have seen earlier that some of the Brahmins criticised Pandita for becoming a follower of Virasaivism and the latter convinced them satisfactorily After that in course of time, a good number of Brahmins appear to have become his followers Many Brahmins accompanied Pandita to the court of Choda when the former was asked to prove the superiority of his religion Prāna lingārchanā parulu, svādhyāya parulunaichanu mahābrāhmanōttamulu saduvuchu, vēdabhāshyamulu seppuchunu, mudamuna nirudesala mrokkuchu naduva [116]

From the description of Pranalingarchanaparulu, it is evident that they were the disciples of Pandita. They read out the different works of Pandita like Dakshadhvarambu Vyasastakamu, Ganadambaramu, Sarabhambu, Srutipanchagadyamulu and other Brahmin literature like Rigvedadi Rudrasuktamulu Yajurveda namaka chamaka panchbrahma samstutoktulu, Samavedanvitamahima, Pramathasuktamulu and Basavasuktamulu and many other works [117]

Here it should be noted that the Vacanas of Basava also are said to have been read out along with the Brahmin literature and the works of Pandita This shows that Pandita approved Basava's preachings In this context, the statement of some scholars, that Pandita turned down the request of Basava to him to come and join him in propagating the faith, saying Bhaktimidivalapu, Brahmanyombuto pottu payalenu nenu Basavalinga (i e 'I can not give up my Brahminism though I love the bhakti aspect) deserves to be examined None of the scholars pointed out the source from where it is quoted Probably it might have been said by some of the later writers but not by Somanatha This tendency is not found in the writings of Somanatha Somanatha's Mallikarjuna was known to have sent his Jangamas to Basava to bless him with the Kannada language

He wanted to see Basava and started on his journey towards Kalyana But when he came to know of Basava's end he lamented so much saying that he did not find any purpose of his survival without Basava in this world and prayed Srisaila Mallikarjuna to take him also to his world

Basavanayu nigarbhavāsambu jocnche yevvarivādanai yenumunduvāda nigarbhambulōna joranive nannu [118]

Moreover Basava also was described to have propagated Virasaivism as pro-Vedic So there was no reason for Mallikarjuna to refuse Basava s request to join hands with the latter

Another difference we find between Mallikarjuna and Basava is the concept of Maya or illusion Basava accepted the concept of Maya We come across its mention in his Vacanas, Maya as mother gave me birth This Maya has undone my life This Maya has me dancing to her tune [119] But Mallikarjuna criticised the Advaitins for preaching the same concept He says that Mayanugatamaina yatti nivēdavādamul nilupu vēdānti and he did not accept the concept of union between Siva and Jiva [120] He propagated the concepts of Pasu, Pasa and Pati [121] Even during the process of Lingadiksha received by Mallikarjuna it was

described that the Guru imparted him the knowledge of these concepts Pasu-Pāsa-Pati Jn̄ānadrushti mati velga[122] (i e he lighted the knowledge of those concepts) and that must be the reason why the most important concept of Virasaiva philosophy i e Satsthala Siddhanta was not described in association with Pandita

In this way, we find Mallikarjuna as the leader of the Virasaiva movement in Andhra during 12th century but he differed in certain respects that are discussed above from Basava and yet he lived and died as a great admirer of Basava

Thus we have two images of Mallikarjuna - one according to Sivatatvasaramu, he was a propagator of extreme devotionalism mixed up with Pasupata concepts and the other one-according to Somanatha - a Virasaiva

Somanatha describes not only Mallikarjuna as a Virasaiva but gives a line of gurus - Kotipalli Aradhyadeva - the diksha guru of Mallikarjuna who was actually described to have invested Mallikarjuna with Pranalinga and the guru of Kotipalli Aradhya - Avantadesika or Avantarayya who was described to have taken Sambhavadiksha And this diksha has been identified with Virasaivadiksha by A Veeresalingam

He says that according to Chandrajnanagama Sambhavadiksha is nothing but a Virasaivadiksha

Vedāmanu kriyabhi dikshatrayam sobhitam shadadhva suddhi charitam gurukārunya sambhrutam bhasma rudrāksha srilingadhāranatmakamuttamam sāmbhava vratame taddhiva vēda sāstraivoditam

Thus Somanatha's descriptions suggest that Virasaiva practices in Andhra were earlier at least by two generations than Mallikarjuna or otherwise it can be said to be earlier than Basava since both of them were known as contemporaries

But however Sambhavadiksha mentioned by Mallikarjuna in Sivatatvasaramu does not appear to be a Lingadiksha or Lingadharana diksha According to him, those who were blessed with the natural devotion were said to have received the Diksha, i e Sambhavadiksha and Siva was said to be the guru Thus strictly speaking by mentioning Sambhavadiksha Mallikarjuna does not appear to have insisted on the necessity of receiving Diksha by those who were blessed by inborn devotion And also it is too early to find such well developed process of Virasaivadiksha two generations earlier than Mallikarjuna and Basava i e earlier than the 12th century If these concepts were so well developed, earlier

than Mallikarjuna, then why did not Mallikarjuna deal with Lingadharana and worship of Pranalinga in Sivatvasaramu The answer is that he was not a Virasaiva But the devotionalism of Mallikarjuna, his heroic spirit, and devotion to the cause of his religion might have impressed Somanatha so much that the former was made the leader of the Andhra Virasaiva movement

Sakhare following Venkannayya, suggests that Mallikarjuna might have embraced Virasaivism after composing Sivatatvasaramu But it does not appear to be so since we do not find any clearcut Virasaiva concepts in the writings of Annamayya who was posterior to Mallikarjuna and who dealt with the concept of devotionalism and worship of linga Another point to be noted about Somanatha's Mallikarjuna is that nowhere the latter was described in association with Upanayana Sikha, Gayatri and the sacred thread in M P Charitra, whereas we find them in Mallikarjuna's Sivatatvasaramu From this it can be suggested that Somanatha might have wanted to describe Mallikarjuna as full-fledged Virasaiva without associating him with the holy thread, Sikha and Gayatri though he described Mallikarjuna to have qouted Vedas and other Brahmin scriptures in support of his religion As was described

by Somanatha in the biography of Mallikarjuna the latter might have taken Pasupata diksha from Aradhyadeva since it is said to have been an essential aspect of the Pasupata system also and thus the two gurus must have been Pasupata teachers as it was too early to expect the formation of Virasaivism

Thus Mallikarjuna must have originally been a Pasupata and later on he might have been influenced very much by the devotionalism of Saiva Nayanars While describing the process of the Diksha of Mallikarjuna Somanatha said that the former was imparted with the knowledge of the concepts of Pasu-Pasa and Pati But Somanatha might have mentioned it as Virasaivadiksha by attributing the Virasaiva concepts to Mallikarjuna If Virasaiva concepts were followed by Mallikarjuna himself we would have found them in a specified way in the writings of Annamayya as has been stated already Chandragnanagama where Sambhavadiksha is described as a Virasaivadiksha might have been a later work So it can be concluded by saying that the Virasaiva concepts had not become crystallised by the time of Mallikarjuna i e by the 12th century and we do not find them in the Telugu literature of that period And it also appears that the religion had

taken a definite shape with all its terminology and its name of Virasaivism by the time of Somanatha i e during the later half of the 13th century

Chapter IV

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Intro to STS 1922 p

2 Intro to BP pp 70-71

3 Virasaiva literature in Telugu p 1 and pp 10-11

4 The influence of Virasaivism on Telugu literature Unpublished thesis (in Telugu) Mysore University 1965 pp 44-45 and p 181

5 Saivarahasyabodhini Samputi 5 Sanchika 1 pp 1-61 quoted by VenkataRao Intro to STS pp 88-89

6 Vyasavali Part I p 138 and Vyasavali p II pp 124 162 164 and 169

7 P 89

8 Pp 285 289 and 290

9 STS V 99

10 ' VV 161 to 165

11 " V 146

12 VV 27, 74 and 92

13 VV 119 130 and 194

14 VV 153 to 156 and 175 to 178.

15 VV 121 126 and 131

16 V 149

17 VV 174-176 and 178

18 VV 153, 155 and 158

19 V 152

20 V 273

21 V 194 If a Brahmin happened to be a devotee of Siva he is like gold with sweet fragrance V 133 This reveals his regard for Brah caste

22 V 126

23 VV 212-213

24 V 129 21?

25 See 'Basava in his own words' Ch V

26 VV 243-44

27 V 21

28 VV 110-114

29 VV 103 113-114

30 V 113

31 VV 127 and VV 297 and 99

32 V 474

33 V 475

34 V 483

35 V 489 (The last and incomplete Verse but the meaning is clearly conveyed)

36 VV 21-30 ? V 28

37 V 27

38 V 42

39 V 22 and 40

40 V 41

41 V 40

42 VV 31-66

43 √V 47 68

44 V 30

45 VV 386-87

46 Similar views were expressed by Lakshmana Rao Intro to STS 1922 p 36 and quoted by Venkata Rao Intro to STS 1968 pp 84-87

47 S C Nandimath A Hand-book of Virasaivism, Dharwar, 1942 Chapter XI and Appendix III and IV

48 VV 18-20

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54 V 220

55 V 216

56 V 229

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58 V 227

59 Oppert Saiva rahasya Bodhini Vol V Issue I, pp 1 16 quoted by Venkata Rao Intro STS pp 88 89

60 Intro to S S p 89

61 Vyasavali Part I, 138 and Vyasavali P II, pp 124, 162 164 and 169

61A Diksha Pra p 15

62 P 290

63 MPC Diksha Pra Pandita receiving Pranalinga p 30 The mention of it by the Brahmins Panditayya nīvu Sadvijōttamudavu bhūti rudrākshamulu dalpanagune nītiye lingasannihitamaiyunki? p 31, Pandita's justification of Lingadharana pp 52-61

64 V 158

65 Jangamalingambagu bhaktungani Pūjimpadēni Kōti Vidhamulan lingārchana chēsina vrudha, Jangamamu-ttamamugāga Sthāvaramunakun

66 Sakhare quoted Venkannayya's views to the effect that Mallikarjuna advocated the necessity of the worship of sthavaralinga p 407

67 Ganapatikshmāpala dīkshāguruh Śrīviśvesvara Sambhu Malkapur inscription 395 SII LL 79-80

68 See "Saivism" I Cha

69 Palakuriki Somanatha Kavi p 86

70 STS V 50

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74 Diksha Pra p 28

75 V 65 56

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77 S N Dasgupta A History of Indian Philosophy
Vol V 1955 Cambridge pp 130-140

78 Pp 103-107

79 Ibid p 105

80 Dasgupta p 131

81 Karmarkar p 233

82 Dasgupta pp 133-34

83 P 236

84 Chenchu Subbamma Vijnanasarvasvamu Vol VII Ed
K Sacchidanandamurti p 529

85 Vyasavali P II, p 168

86 P 275, and M S Sarma, History of the Reddi
Kingdoms p 307

87 Dasgupta p 140

88 C Subbamma Ibid

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90 Bhuvanōtpatti Sthitilaya vividha vyāpāra mukhya
Vibhudavu pasubandha mōksha dakshudavunu nīvē
rājābharana V 87

91 V 71 and 86

92 V 30

92 V 30 This meaning is suggested in some of the verses

93 V 284 says that Sivabhaktas would reach Sivaloka and V 30 says that the released souls shine like Siva In VV 386 and 387 he requests God Siva to take him as one of the Ganas to carry his orders

94 Development of Religion in South India Orient Longmans 1963, pp 40-44

95 Similar concepts can be found in Saivasiddhanta also Nandimath p 99 T M P Mahadevan Saiva Siddhanta, in The History and culture of the Indian people, The Struggle for the Empire, Bharatiya Vidyabhavan

96 Origin and early History of Saivism in South India Madras, 1935 p 144 and 155

97 Ibid pp 186-188

98 STS V 73

99 VV 31-66

100 V 391

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102 Chenna Reddy also expressed similar views p 45

103 Diksha Pra p 30

104 Ibid p 29

105 Pp 190-192

106 Virasaivism gives great importance to the Astavarna the eight coverings or emblems which form one of the essential factors of the creed Nandimath p 54

107 Ibid pp 80-81

108 Diksha Pra pp 5-6 P T 6

109 Mahima Pra pp 70-95

110 Vada Pra p 536 The actual line from this page But the argument runs between pp 523-537

111 Diksha Pra pp 31-100

112 Parvata Pra pp 545-46

113 Diksha Pra pp 33-34

114 Ibid pp 23-24

115 Ibid pp 22-23

116 Vada Pra pp 515-16

117 Ibid 512-515 Basavasūktamulu p 514

118 Parvata Pra 545-46

119 Vs 15 17 18 Vacanas of Basavanna

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122 Diksha Pra p 29

CHAPTER V

PALAKURIKI SOMANATHA

This chapter deals mainly with Somanatha by whose time the Virasaiva religion took a definite form But before coming to his life and work a few pages are allotted to Yadhavakkula Annamayya who devoted his writings to propagate the supremacy of and devotion to Siva His writings witness the process of the transformation of devotionalism into Virasaivism and thus he can be considered to be a connecting link between Mallikarjuna and Somanatha

Yadhavakkula Annamayya

In the last verse of his Sarvesvara Satakamu he mentions the date of its composition as S 1164 (1242)[1] and in the last but second poem he writes that he was blessed by a certain Dud_konda Aradhya Somesvara to undertake that work [2] Venkata Rao identifies this Somesvara with Palakuriki Somanatha [3] But this identification is not acceptable for three reasons

1 Somanatha describes himself as Palakuriki Somanatha

but nowhere he mentioned in his works that he was Dud konda Somana He was not mentioned so even by the later writers

2 Palakuriki Somanatha was a great Virasaiva poet and he dealt with all the Virasaiva concepts including the term Virasaiva in his works If Yadhavakkula Annamayya was blessed by him he would have mentioned Somanatha as a Virasaiva and he would have dealt with Virasaiva concepts clearly But we do not find the Virasaiva concepts dealt with so clearly in *Sarvesvara Satakamu*

3 The date of the *Sataka*, 1242, is too early for Palakuriki Somanatha who flourished in the later half of the 13th and the first quarter of the 14th century

The religious concepts of Annamayya

He preaches the supremacy of Siva by describing Him as *Astamurti* or the lord of eight aspects, *Pavana*, *Hima*, *Anala*, *Paniya*, *Atma*, *Ravi*, *Ambara* and *Mahivalaya* [4]

He deals throughout his work with devotion to Siva and more so with the worship of *Sivabhaktas* [5] According to him, *bhakti* is the only help to the souls to get release from *Samsara* or the worldly life [6] According to him to provide comforts to *Sivabhaktas* is to provide to Siva

Himself since Siva resides in the hearts of Sivabhaktas and to excite their anger is to excite the anger of Siva [7] He agrees with Mallikarjuna's view that to feed one Sivayogi is equal to the merit of feeding one crore of Brahmins [8]

He says that all the Thirthas or holy places shine only when linga is there Since Linga is there on the bodies of bhaktas, visiting bhaktas is preferable to visiting the Thirthas [9] The worship of the Jangamas is said to be better than worshipping one's own linga [10] In these two contexts or verses where he stated that (1) the linga resides on gatramulayandu i e the bodies of the bhaktas, (2) it is better to worship Jangama than worshipping one's own linga - he appears to have suggested the practice of wearing linga

He says that it is better to sprinkle the water used for cleaning the feet of the Sivabhaktas than dipping in the holy waters [11] It is better to worship the Sivabhaktas than performing all kinds of sacrifices following the Vedas and Sastras so devotedly [12]

Annamayya laid emphasis on the moral conduct of the devotees One who always speaks the truth, one who does not ~~observe~~ indulge in durachara or bad conduct, one who shuns participation in the discussions of the bad people, one who

always enjoys the company of the bhaktas, one who does not yield to sensual pleasures, is said to be the bhruthya of Siva and such a devotee should be worshipped in all the three worlds [13] He describes that Siva should be worshipped with three important flowers, truth, mercy and devotion [14] In this respect, he can be compared with Basava Without these flowers Annamayya says that worshipping Siva is a waste According to him, there are three degrees of devotion Like Mallikarjuna, Annamayya gave the highest place to the worship of Sivabhaktas and that devotion is said to be of the highest degree or the best of its kind To treat Siva and Sivabhaktas equally is said to be of the second degree and worshipping Siva with all the devotion and without any concern to Sivabhaktas is said to be ~~of~~ last ~~third degree or the lowest devotion~~ [15]

Like Mallikarjuna, Annamayya also believed that whatever sin the bhaktas committed would turn to be their merit or punya [16] He quoted the example of Chandisa who killed his father for coming in the former's way of devotion But the devotee was said to have been blessed by Siva According to Annamayya, even if one carries out meritorious deeds in accordance with the Vedas without having Sivabhakti - all that punya or merit would go waste

He quoted the example of Daksha, who, in spite of his yajna ignoring Siva, was known to have lost his head[16]

Annamayya does not appear to have appreciated the heroic acts of the bhaktas like giving up their own lives to exhibit their devotion No where do we find the mention of the same Moreover he says, that it is better to offer, one's own chitta or one's own mind to Siva than offering one's own wealth or life [17]

Thus we find Annamayya's teachings were very similar in certain respects with the teachings of the Pandita and dissimilar in some other respects Annamayya specifically laid emphasis on the moral conduct of the bhaktas Like Basava,[18] he stressed that bhaktas should have mercy But at the same time, he did not disapprove the violence carried out by certain Sivabhaktas like Chandisa Unlike Pandita, Annamayya did not show his adherence to Vedas, Brahmins Sikha, Gayatri and other things He propagated pure devotion Unlike Mallikarjuna, he specifically recommended the worship of the Jangama He hinted at the practice of wearing Linga But still we cannot trace the Virasaiva concepts clearly in Annamayya's teachings as we can in the works of Somanatha So it can be concluded that Annamayya's teachings

came midway in the stage of the evolution from devotionalism to Virasaivism

Palakuriki Somanatha

It is very interesting to note that every aspect of Somanatha - his native place, date and his original caste, have become controversial issues among the scholars We will turn to these three aspects one after the other

The native place

Somanatha calls himself as Palakuriki Somanatha Even the later writers like Piduparti Somanatha of the 16th century also refers to him as Palakuriki Somanatha There is a little controversy among the scholars regarding the identification of the place Palakuriki Almost all the scholars, except Narayana Rao, agreed with one other in identifying the place with the present Palakurti in the Jangama Taluk, in the Nalgonda district, an adjacent district to Warangal [19] Only Narayana Rao identified the present Halkuriki in the Tumkur Taluk of Karnataka and within twenty miles of Madakasira in the Anantapur district on the Andhra-Karnataka border He states the knowledge of Kannada of Somanatha as the main reason for this view [20]

No doubt Somanatha wrote a few lines in Kannada in Sri M I Charitra But that can not be taken as a supporting point in favour of the argument that he hailed from Karnataka Somanatha wrote a few pages in Marathi and Tamil also while describing the devotees of those places[21] That does not mean that he belonged to either of these places There is a work in Kannada called Somesvarasataka which is attributed to Somanatha It is difficult to say whether he really wrote it or not No Telugu scholar has thrown any light on this matter Moreover scholars like Ramakrishna Sastri[22] raised the objection against Narayana Rao's argument saying if Somanatha belonged to Karnataka region he would not have left mentioning Basava's name in his earlier work Anubhavasaramu, where he mentions the name of Pandita as hailing from the Andhra region So Halkurike can not be accepted as the native place of Somanatha In favour of the other argument, Tammayya[23] says that there is a temple of Lord Somanatha on a hill in the present village Palakuriki and the former suggests that Somanatha might have been named so by his parents after the presiding deity of that temple

According to the account of Piduparti Somanatha, our Somanatha[24] was known to have lived for sometime in his old age at Warangal and left that place for Karnataka before the Muslim occupation of the Kakatiya kingdom

~~finally retired to Kalke near Sivaganga where he entered the Samadhi.~~ (Kalya)

The date of Somanatha

Three different dates are assigned by scholars to Somanatha Kandukuru Veeresalingam Pantulu[25] gave two different dates to Somanatha According to his earlier opinion, taking Piduparti Somanatha's account into consideration, Somanatha lived during the time of Prataparudra i e 1289-1323 Later on he revised his opinion giving weight to R Narasimhacharya's date of Somanatha as 1222 and stated that Somanatha lived in the time of Prataparudra I (Rudradeva) whose last date was 1195

Prabhakara Sastri[26] and Tammayya[27] were the chief supporters of the revised theory of Veeresalingam

Narayana Rao,[28] Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma,[29] Ramakrishna Sastri,[30] and Venkataramanayya[31] were the supporters of the former theory of Veeresalingam.

According to Venkata Rao,[32] Somanatha lived between 1190 and 1260 Now let us examine the various arguments of these scholars in support of their theories

Prabhakara Sastri and Tammayya gave weight to Narasimhacharya's account of poet Somaraja The latter was the author of Udbhata Kavya where he cited one Somana associating him with Vrushabhastava [33] Somaraja mentioned the date of the composition of the kavya and Narasimhacharya interpreted the date as 1222 and Somana who was associated with Vrushabhasthava was identified with Palakuriki Somanatha because of the latter's authorship of Vrushadhipa satakamu In this work he paid his highest tributes to Basava and each verse ends with the name of Basava Since Somaraja of 1222 cited the name of Somanatha, it was argued that the latter must have lived during the time of Prataparudra I, i e towards 1195

2 Karasthali Somanathayya,[34] who was one of the contemporaries of Somanatha, was described as the disciple of Panditaradhya and the latter was identified with Mallikarjuna Pandita and thus it was said that there was not much gap between Mallikarjuna and Somanatha So the latter must have lived towards the end of the 12th century

3 Somanatha described himself as the disciple of the grandson (name was not given) of Belidevi Vemanaradhya[36] the contemporary of Mallikarjuna and because of this reason also it was said that Somanatha lived towards the

end of the 12th century

4 Somanatha closed the account of Mallikarjuna Pandita in his work Sri M P Charitra with a blessing that the descendants of Mallikarjuna should flourish for many generations[36] This suggests that by the time he composed the work, the grandsons of Mallikarjuna must have been living Thus they argued that Somanatha lived about 1195 Venkata Rao derives support to his argument from the following points

1 There should be a gap of fifty to sixty years between Mallikarjuna and Somanatha as the latter was described as the disciple of the grandson of Belidevi Vemanaradhya who was the contemporary of Mallikarjuna

2 According to Somaraja's account Somanatha should have composed Vrushadhipa sataka by 1222

3 As has been stated earlier Dudikonda Aradhya Somesvara, who was mentioned by Annamayya in Sarvesvarasatakamu of 1242, was identified with Palakuriki Somanatha

4 Naganaradhya and Tummalapalli Nagabhushanakavi stated in their works that Sivadevayya, the minister of Prataparudra narrated the story of Basava to Prataparudra Here

it is to be noted that Prataparudra was wrongly identified with Rudramba by Venkata Rao and thus he concluded since the story of Basava was narrated by Sivadevayya to Rudramba Basavapuranamu must have been written by that time So Somanatha must have lived earlier than Rudrama's time

5 Tikkana, the contemporary of Ganapati Deva, was a great exponent of the Harihara concept Somanatha s propagation of Virasaivism was said to be the main cause for Tikkana's advocating the Harihara-concept Venkata Rao writes that Somanatha's writings might have divided the society into two rival groups, the Saivites and the Vaisnavites and to bring compromise between those two religious groups Tikkana might have preached the Harihara concept Thus it was argued that Somanatha might have lived earlier than Tikkana

The other group of scholars put forward the following arguments in support of their theory According to Narayana Rao, there was much gap between Mallikarjuna and Somanatha The latter closed the account of the former in his work Sri M P Charitra saying that many descendants flourished after Mallikarjuna Narayana Rao identified Karasthali Visvanathayya one of the Guru's of Somanatha with Visvesvara Sivacharya of the Golaki school So according to Narayana

Rao, Somanatha lived during the time of Ganapatideva, Rudrama Devi and also Prataparudra i e Somanatha was said to have lived in the latter half of the 13th century and the first quarter of the 14th century

Somasekhara Sarma taking the inscriptional evidence[37] into consideration stated that Somanatha lived during the time of Prataparudra The former identifies Rendrevula Mallinatha and Dochayakhya mentioned in the inscription of Ambadeva of 1290-91, with Rentala Mallinatha and Dochāmbā, the contemporaries of Somanatha [38] The latter cited the names of the two, Rentala Mallinatha and Dochamamba as great devotees and the details given in the inscription and by Somanatha about Mallinatha and Dochayakhya are said to agree with each other

Venkataramanayya agreed with Somasekhara Sarma and argued in support of his view that Somanatha lived during the time of Prataparudra He criticised the arguments of other scholars saying that

1 The date of Somaraju 1222, suggested by Narasimhacharya is not acceptable according to the arguments of Venkatasubbayya and according to the latter Somaraja of Udbhata kavya lived in 1522 So it cannot be argued that

Somanatha must have lived before 1222 [39]

2. There was a long gap between Somanatha and Mallikarjuna as has been suggested in the writings of Somanatha In Sri M P Charitra, Somanatha concluded the account of Pandita saying that the descendants of Pandita flourished for many generations

3 When Somanatha mentioned that he was the disciple of the grandson of Panditaradhya he must have meant a descendant of Panditaradhya but not a direct grandson [40]

4 According to Piduparti Somanatha, Palakuriki Somanatha lived during the time of Prataparudra and as the other scholars argue, Venkataramanayya says that there were no two Prataparudras So when Piduparti Somanatha mentioned Palakuriki Somanatha in association with Pratapa, the latter must be Prataparudra who was the last ruler of the Kakatiyas but not Kakati Rudradeva [41]

Venkataramanayya disapproves the theory of Venkata Rao who identified Dudikonda Somesvara with Palakuriki Somanatha saying that the latter was nowhere mentioned as Dudikonda Somesvara He mentions another discovery/of Somasekhara Sarma in support of the present theory

Somanatha described one Ivaturu Somanatha as the disciple of Kedarayya, the son of Mallikarjuna and said that descendants of Kedarayya and Ivaturu Somanatha flourished for many generations Somasekhara Sarma identifies one Imaturu Somana cited in an inscription of 1216 issued by certain Yerrakkasanamma, the wife of Recherla pillalamarri Cheti Reddy [42]

The arguments of Venkataramanayya and other scholars who supported the view that Somanatha lived in the later half of the 13th and first quarter of the 14th century appear to be quite justifiable because of the following reasons

1 Somanatha described in Sri M P Charitra that many descendants flourished for many generations after Mallikarjuna [43] This suggests a long gap between Pandita and Somanatha If Somanatha's date is to be accepted as 1195 the gap between Pandita whose last date is 1185 and Somanatha would be too short

2 Piduparti Somanatha's[44] account of Palakuriki Somanatha throws some light on the date of the latter The former describes that Sivaratri Koppayya to whom the latter traces his descent was said to be the disciple of Somanatha

i e the contemporary of Palakuriki Somanatha and both were mentioned as the contemporaries of Prataparudra

According to Piduparti Somana's[45] account, one day king Pratapa went to a Saiva temple at Orugallu and there he found some devotees listening to a Purana Out of curiosity, he enquired what it was about One of the Brahmins then answered the king in a very contemptuous tone that it was Basavapuranamu written by Palakuriki Somanatha abusing him as Patitudu The disciples of Somanatha soon went to Palakuriki to report the matter to him and urged him to teach a lesson to those Brahmins Somanatha who was observing the vrata or vow of not seeing the bhavi, immediately went to Orugallu in a bullock cart covered with the screens on both sides lest he should see the 'bhavis' The Brahmins were said to have played a trick on Somanatha by sending some bhavis with false marks of lingas to Somanatha But when they went to Somanatha the false lingas - turned to be real and the people and the king realised the miraculous power of Somanatha and fell at his feet In this connection it is said that Indaluru Annayya was the disciple of Palakuriki Somanatha The latter was said to have left that place after staying there for sometime foretelling the invasion of

Turks of the region and their success Before he left that place, he secured a village called Dokiparru from his disciple Indaluru Annayya for his other disciples and bestowed it on Sivaratri koppayya Then Somanatha left for Karnataka which was described to be the most beloved land of Somanatha It appears that Somanatha was in his old age by the time he left for Karnataka and there as mentioned he retired to Kalya[45A] near Sivaganga where he entered Samadhi

Note

From this account, it appears that Somanatha was a contemporary of Prataparudra Indaluru Annayya was not only the minister of Prataparudra but also related to him[46] It was during Prataparudra's reign, that the Muslim invasion to the South took place and by about 1323, the Kakatiya kingdom was conquered and annexed by the Muslims It can be said that the Palakuriki Somanatha left Orugallu before 1323 Thus the account of Piduparti Somanatha tallies well with the historical events that took place in the time of Prataparudradeva There is no reason to disbelieve this account in fixing the date of Somanatha

As was stated by Venkataramanayya and Ramakrishna Sastri, when Somanatha mentioned that he was the disciple

of the grandson of Belidevi Vemanaradhya, he must have meant a descendant of the Belidevi Vemanaradhya In support of the view that the word <u>manuma</u> or grandson can be used not only for direct grandson but also to mean the descendant of the family the inscription of Damalapati Channamanani of S 1327 which has been mentioned earlier, where Sirigiriyya was described as the grandson of Mallikarjuna [47] So here Sirigiriyya obviously could not be the grandson of Mallikarjuna of the 12th century but must have been a descendant In the same way Somanatha also might have referred to one of the descendants of Belidevi Vemanaradhya

Some more favourable factors also can be mentioned in support of the theory that Somanatha lived during the second half of the 13th century and the first quarter of the 14th century

According to T Donappa[48] certain foreign words like <u>'Jalaposanam'</u> a Persian derivative were used in <u>Sri M P Charitra</u> by Somanatha and they were not to be found in the earlier works From the language point of view, according to Donappa, it can be said that Somanatha lived towards the end of the 13th century A D

Tikkana has been generally accepted by the scholars as the first exponent of the 'Harihara' concept[48A] Somanatha was a great critic of this concept He criticised it in Sri M P Charitra saying that Hara is not Hari Hari can be destroyed whereas Hara can destroy [49] So runs his argument From this it can be stated that Somanatha must have been posterior to Tikkana Depending upon Piduparti Somanatha's account that our Somanatha left Orugallu foretelling the Muslim occupation of that kingdom and entering Samadhi after some time, the latter's last date can be fixed somewhere between 1323-25 and by then he was said to be an old man So it can be concluded that Somanatha lived during the latter half of the 13th and first quarter of the 14th century

Somanatha's Virasaivism

Though there is no controversy as to whether Somanatha being a Virasaiva, there is a minor controversy whether he was a born Virasaiva or a Brahmin convert

Tammayya was a great exponent of the former view, whereas the other scholars like Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao

Prabhakara Sastri, Narayana Rao and Venkata Rao supported the latter view

According to Narayana Rao,[50] there were neither Aradhyas nor Jangamas as a sect by the time of Palakuriki Somanatha The term 'Aradhya' is used only to show reverence, so it is meaningless to argue whether Somanatha was born in an Aradhya family or Jangama family He was a Brahmin and later on became a Virasaiva According to Venkata Rao [51] Somanatha was originally a Brahmin but later on became an Aradhya by embracing Virasaivism All the above mentioned scholars derive their support from the evidence of Somanatha's own works

The evidence from his works

As is known from Somanathas works, he was the son of Vishnurami Devundu and Sriyadevi [52] He described himself as the follower of Viramahesvarichara vrata[53] and Siddha Viravrata Silanvitunda[54] and belonged to Bhrningiriti-gotra[55] and the disciple of Gurulinga[56] who was mentioned as his Diksha guru He described himself as belonging to Sivakulinuda[56] ~~i.e. the caste of the bhaktas broadly speaking no caste~~ He ~~described~~ called himself as a true devotee and that he was the son of Siva and Uma[57] (the chief consort of Siva)

and an adopted son of the devotees He describes himself as a *Chaturvedin*[59] He had chosen one Palakuriki Suranamatya addressing him as a beloved friend and brother-in-law, *nechchalikādavu, nā muddumaradi*, to be his listener to *Sri B P Charitra*, during its process of composition[60] Suranamatya from the description of Somanatha appears to be a Brahmin and was said to have been known for his heroic devotion[61]

Those who argue that Somanatha was a Brahmin by birth state that he was a *chaturvedin* and exhibited his Vedic scholarship in his works Unless he was a Brahmin it would not have been possible for him to acquire mastery of the four Vedas Suranamatya who was a Brahmin was addressed by Somanatha as his '*maradi*', i e brother-in-law and thus they must have been related to each other through matrimony[62]

These scholars derive their support from external evidence also They argue that according to Piduparti Somanatha the Brahmin at Orugallu while mentioning the name of Somanatha used the word '*Patita*' sinner or a person fallen from an approved path Unless he as a Brahmin by birth they would not have been so angry with Somanatha who embraced Virasaivism and criticised vehemently

Brahminism through the mouth of Basava

On the other hand, Tammayya argued that Somanatha belonged to Bhringiritigotra which is a clear sign of Virasaivism Only Virasaivas are known by the gotras derived from the pithas of Panchacharyas and the Vedic knowledge of Somanatha need not be an objection for his being a Virasaiva since the latter also are eligible to read the Vedas Strictly speaking, excepting the fourth caste the others are known as 'twice born' and thus they have the right to read Vedas and perform Vedic sacrifices Kshatriyas were known to have performed different types of Vedic sacrifices.

Suranamatya might not have been a relative of Somanatha and the latter might have addressed him as maradi' out of friendship Since both of them were having the same surname Palakuriki, it is not possible to have marriage alliances between them

To this objection the other party answered that among the Brahmins, surname is not at all important since they take into consideration only Gotras Somanatha and Suranamatya might be having the same surname Palakuriki as both of them belonged to the same place Tammayya[63]

argues that the Brahmins at Orugallu might have unconsciously or without much thought used the word '*Patita*' to describe Somanatha as the latter also used some abusive language towards the Brahmins If Somanatha was born in a Brahmin family he ~~would~~ might not have used such abusive language

The arguments of Tammayya do not appear to be quite sound *Bhringiritigotra* of Somanatha is not a supporting factor to ~~say that he was~~ born Virasaiva By Somanatha's time, the theory of *Panchacharya* was not known Bhringi is one of the *Ganas* of Siva Somanatha mentioned that he belonged to '*bhaktigotra*'[64] and 'Basavagotra'[65] But there are no '*gotras*' by that name So in the same way he might have mentioned Bhringiritigotra So it can not be taken as a supporting point to the theory that Somanatha was a Virasaiva by birth

In the same way, it cannot be argued that the other castes also have the right of reading Vedas Throughout history, Brahmins only were known for their Vedic scholarship and ~~they were~~ called as *Dvivedins*, *Trivedins* and *Caturvedins* By Somanatha's time, no one from any non-Brahmin castes were known to have been Vedic scholars

Somanatha raised his voice against the Brahminism i e worshipping many deities but not against Brahmins as a caste and the Vedas

While describing the superiority of Siva he mentions that Siva is the Brahmin while Brahma and Vishnu are Vaisya and Kshatriya respectively and 'Suradhipati' i e Indra is the Sudra [66] If he had a real aversion to Brahmins as a caste he would not have mentioned his dear deity Siva as 'Brahmin'

He abused only those Brahmins who did not accept single-minded devotion to Siva He showed all reverence to those Brahmins who accepted Siva as the supreme deity So there need not be any doubt in accepting Somanatha as a Brahmin by birth But when he embraced Virasaivism he mentioned that he belonged to 'Isvarakulaja' [6A] and 'bhakti-gotra' and was the adopted son of the bhaktas, giving prominence to Sivabhakti and showing all his reverence to Sivabhaktas irrespective of their caste

The word Virasaiva

As has been already stated Somanatha was the first Telugu poet who dealt with all the concepts of Virasaivism

in association with the name Virasaivism As has been discussed earlier, while describing Mallikarjuna's diksha, Somanatha used the word Virasaiva in association with the approved tenets of the faith [67] In the story of Surasanamma the latter was described to have mentioned the word Virasaiva saying that Siva is there for Virasaivas [68] While describing Hari,[69] as has been mentioned earlier, Somanatha used the word Virasaiva Somanatha used different words to mean Virasaivism At one place he cited Suddha Virasaivism[70] and at another place Suddha vaidika[71] Saivism to describe Mallikarjuna

Viramahesvaracharamu - a synonym of Virasaivism

It is quite interesting to note that Somanatha never used the word Virasaivism to describe Basava In various contexts, he used the word Viramahēsvarāchara to describe Basava Viramahēswarācharamalla brōvai nilehinapōlki[72] (Basava when he was a child was described to have been standing like a heap of Viramahesvarachara) In another context, Basava was described to have answered his father saying that he would not undergo Upanayana since he was a Viramahesvarachara dikshita [73] Mallikarjuna and Belidevi Vemanaradhya also were called as Viramahesvaras [74] Thus it

can be said that Somanatha used 'Virasaivism' and Vira-mahesvaracharamu as synonyms

Virasaiva concepts ~~in~~ of Somanatha

An account of Virasaiva concepts is already given while discussing the religion of Mallikarjuna as was described by Somanatha In his other works, like Anubhavasaramu, Chaturvedasaramu, he mentioned Lingadharana Pranalingam dharēstsudhi sivalingadhāranam kuryāttanuchu[75] Istalingarchana,[76] Jangamarchana,[77] Nirmālyadhārana,[78] Padodaka [79] Prasada[80] and Satsthala[81] with the names of the various sthalas like Guru, Linga, Jangama,[82] Mahesvara, Sarana, Prasada and Lingaikya-sthala [83] He dealt at length with the equality of, and reference to Sivabhaktas irrespective of their caste According to Somanatha, all those that undergo Sivadiksha belong to the same caste - the caste of Siva [84]

The nature of Virasaivism

It appears that Somanatha used the term Virasaivism in a very broad sense i e sometimes in association with the Virasaiva concepts like Istalinga puja, Jangama worship etc and sometimes only to denote the devotion and the

heroic spirit to show it Hari was described by Somanatha as a Virasaiva not because he underwent Virasaivadiksha, worshipped Istalinga and Jangamas or had Lingadharana but for some of his heroic activities and achievements by being a devotee of Siva He was described to be a Virasaiva for being blessed by a son called Sambhu by Siva, for being blessed with Sivagita and for offering his eyes to Siva and getting them back [85]

It appears that he strived hard to propagate Virasaivism, quoting Vedas, Upanisads and Sastras in support of it His pro-Vedic spirit is very obvious throughout his works He states that "Sruti puranagamamulandu suddhavirasaivamunaku daginatti saranulella cherchi chadani bhakti padamucheta rachincheda"[86] he would be writing his work 'Chaturvedasara' collecting the appropriate points in favour of Suddha virasaivism from Vedas, Puranas and Agamas He stated that he would establish supremacy of Siva importance of Jangama, Prasada and devotion in the world by writing Chaturvedasaramu [87] While speaking about his work the author says that it is a pure Vedic work intended for followers of the Vedic faith a code of conduct to the

scholars in Dharma-Sastras an Agama to Agamites, a Tantra to the Tantrikas, it is a path of devotion to the devotees, to attain the ultimate liberation and a piece of poetry to the poets [88] In the words of Viramahesvaras at Srisaila, Somanatha composed Chaturvedasaramu to prove that Virabhakti was pro-Vedic [89] Somanatha describes Basava also to have propagated pro-Vedic Virabhakti When Basava went to Kudalasangama, it was stated that God Sangamesvara asked Basava to propagate Vedasastrardha sampadita bhakti and Basava was described to have taken a vow assuring Kudalasangama that he would do so i e propagate Vedoktabhakti [90] Mallikarjuna too was described to have mentioned Basava to have propagated pro-Vedic Virabhakti [91]

Somanatha described certain Virasaiva rites thus Those who wear linga are not to be cremated "prana lingini sariram nadahettana dahanambu chesina tappu vachchu"[92] and they need not observe the pollutions of death and the monthly course of women and are eligible to worship Siva [93] These two instructions given by Somanatha suggest that 'Virasaivism was fully developed to its present form by his time These rites are observed even today by the Virasaivites or

Note Lingayats of Karnataka and Andhra and the Aradhyas of Andhra The only difference between the Virasaivas of Karnatak and Andhra and Aradhyas to be found is that the latter did not give up their adherence to certain Vedic practices like upanayana, having yajnopavita and reciting Gayatri It can be said that Somanatha tried to reconcile Vedism with Bhakti in the name of Virasaivism or Viramahesvaracaramu In this connection, it can be said that it is not proper to think as has been expressed by Venkata Rao that Basava propagated anti-Vedic-Virasaivism "Avaidika Virasaivism or Jangama tradition, and Pandita propagated pro-Vedic or Viramahesvaracaramu i e Aradhya system [94] As far as the religious concepts of Pandita are concerned, he did not give any name to them As has been seen in the words of Somanatha, no difference can be found between Basava's school of religion and Mallikarjuna Pandita's, as both of them were described to have propagated pro-Vedic Virabhakti and Somanatha used the word 'Viramahesvarachara' to describe both Basava and Pandita So it is not appropriate to state that what Basava propagated is known as Virasaivism and what Pandita propagated is known as Viramahesvaracharamu Somanatha dealt with only one religion i e Virasaivism He nowhere used the word 'Aradhya' denoting a sect or a religious system Narayana Rao[95] was quite correct when

he stated that there were no Aradhyas as a sect in Andhra by Somanatha's time The term Aradhya is not to be found either in literature or in the inscriptions denoting a sect It was used only to show reverence In the same way, it can be stated that though Somanatha named his religion as 'Virasaivism' it can be said that it has been shaped into Aradhya Saivism in course of time since he was an exponent of pro-Vedic Virasaivism When the Aradhya system did not take shape by Somanatha's time, the argument of Prabhakara Sastri, that the Aradhyas of Telugudesa did not wear Linga on their body till the time of Krishnadevaraya, is not justifiable So far we were concerned with the part played by Palakuriki Somanatha the cause of Andhra Virasaivism Now we proceed to consider the picture of Basava as it emerges from the writings of Somanatha and compare it with the picture of Basava we glean from his own vacanas

Somanatha's portrait of Basava

As has been stated earlier Basavesvara's name appears for the first time in Sivatatvasaramu of Mallikarjuna Pandita where the author praised him for performing the poison-drinking miracle [96] If Mallikarjuna was the earliest poet to mention the name of Basava, Somanatha was

the first to thow some light on the life and achievements of Basava Somanatha tried to portray him in a superlative manner describing all his virtues and miraculous powers Though in certain respects Somanatha's depiction of Basava agrees with what we know of him from the latter's Vacanas, in other respects, the two pictures do not agree and therefore some scholars have entertained some misconceptions about Basava and his movement Hence, an attempt is made here to examine Somanatha's account of Basava and compare it with the picture of Basava one can form by studying his Vacanas

Somanatha's knowledge of Basava

Somanatha does not seem to have known about Basava in his earlier life as the name of Basava is not to be found in 'Anubhavasaramu' which is said to be his earliest work, where he praises Mallikarjuna in three verses [97] But later, when he came to know about Basava, he developed a very high regard and devotion to him and this is revealed throughout his writings on Basava It is evident from Basavapuaranamu that the details about Basava were supplied to Somanatha by the devotees - the Viramahesvaras at Srisailam He writes that he narrated Basavapuranamu as he heard from the devotees Basavani Charita Cheppiti bhaktula nundi

vinna mādki [98]

Besides Basavapuaranmu, he wrote Vrushadhipasatakamu,[99] an entire work, in praise of Basava Chaturvedasaramu is another work where Somanatha ended each verse in the name of Basava as Basavalinga In M P Charitra,[100] he devoted some pages to Basava giving not only the summary of the details given in Basavapuranamu but also adding some more points

Basavapuranamu

Somanatha looked upon Basava not as a human being but as a divine personality - a manifestation of the Divine Bull of Kailasa According to Somanatha, Narada Went to Kailasa with a report to Siva that Sivabhkati or devotion to Siva was not to be found anywhere in the world and requested Him to make some arrangements for the propagation of devotional Saivism and of the prominence of Lingasthala, Jangamasthala and Prasadasthala Then Siva assured Narada that he would ask Nandi His Vahana - saying that there is little difference between both of them - to become manifest in the world as a human being for the propagation of Bhakti [101] Suiting his divine conception

of Basava, Somanatha appears to have named the work on Basava as '*Basavapuranamu*'[102] though Basava was a historical person

The life and activities of Basava

Basava was said to be the only son of Madamba and Mandega Madiraju of Hingulesvara Bhagavati an *Agrahara* in Karnataka[103] Aspiring for a son, Madambe observed *Nandikesvaravrata* and when she was blessed with a son - she named the son Basava - a Kannada form of Sanskrit *Vrishabha* - after *Nandikesvara* Basava cultivated *Sivabhkati* from his childhood and he refused to undergo the *Upanayana*[104] saying that the path of Brahminism was entirely different from devotionalism and also because he already had '*Viramahesvaradiksha*' This led to a great argument and difference of opinion between father and son and Basava ultimately left the house along with his sister Nagamba Just at that time, Bandari Baladeva dandanayaka, the maternal uncle of Basava who came to attend the *Upanayana* ceremony was very much pleased with Basava's devotion and according to his earlier vow that he would be getting his daughter married to a *Sivabhakta* offered his daughter to Basava[105] After the marriage, Basava left for Kappadi Sangamesvaram along with his wife and sister saying that

he should worship the feet of his Guru During Basava's stay at that place, his father-in-law Baladeva - the 'Bhandari' at Bijjala's court died and after an enquiry for a rightful candidate to succeed Baladeva in his post, the king came to know about Basava and appointed him in that post [106] From then onwards, Basava's life was very much associated with Kalyana[107] the capital of Bijjala

Even while managing the state affairs Basava became very famous for his devotion to Siva and the Jangamas Many devotees and Jangamas from different places came to visit him as a pilgrimage Of these devotees some were said to have come to Basava to fulfill their vow of visiting him, some with the intention of being worshipped by him and some to test whether Basava was as great as he was made out to be [108]

It is clear from the writings of Somanatha that the relations between Basava and Bijjala were not quite cordial Basava's movement began to progress fast and the courtiers of Bijjala who became jealous of Basava started poisoning the ears of Bijjala by complaining something or other against Basava

Certain events happened which estranged Bijjala from Basava The first of these was Basava's moving freely with the outcastes One day he even accepted food from the outcastes Bijjala a follower of traditional ways , on receiving the reports about it from his courtiers - asked Basava for an explanation of his behaviour [109] One day Basava was invited along with a number of Brahmins to a dinner party given by Basava's disciple Jagadeva But without waiting for Basava, Jagadeva treated the other guests - Brahmins - to a feast Basava became very angry with the former Jagadeva asked Basava for pardon Then Basava prophesied Sivadroha or injustice to the followers of Basava, and he exhorted Jagadeva to take vengeance on those who would be responsible for that [110] And Jagadeva had not long to wait The event that completely ruptured the relations between the both was the injustice done to the followers of Basava Mallayya and Madhupayya were said to have been punished by Bijjala with blinding for no fault of theirs [111] Basava and his followers were naturally enraged at Bijjala's act The followers of Basava asked him to be true to his exhortation to Jagadeva and bring about the end of Bijjala [112] But Basava did not do so Instead he retired to Kudalasangama with some of his followers cursing that Bijjala's family and kingdom should

go to ruins

After their departure to Kappadi Sangama, things became unsafe for people who stayed on at Kalyana They had to suffer a reign of terror Many evil events started occuring at Kalyana as a result of Basava's curse and the citizens were said to have been very much frightened One day, Jagadeva was said to have gone to his house where he was put to so much insult by his own mother for not taking revenge against Bijjala She rebuked him saying that, one should on hearing about 'Sivadroha' immediately either see the end of those who were responsible for it or should give up their own lives Since he was not prepared for either of the things she called him a dog and treated him like one by keeping his food (prasada) outside the house Even then Jagadeva did not appear to have come to a decision and thinking that he deserved the rebukes ate the food [113] ~~On~~ That night, two other devotees, Malla and Brahmayya, who were known very much for their heroic devotion came to know of the whole affair and rushed to Jagadeva's house It appears that it was at their instigation that Jagadeva finally decided and joined them The three of them went to Bijjala and took their revenge by putting him to death After that, they were

said to have come back to Jagadeva's mother to receive food (prasada) from her [114] At Kappadi Sangamesvara, Basava after coming to know about the end of Bijjala and his family,[115] is said to have merged with Kudala Sangama

The portrait of Basava

Basava was described to have preached and practised unflinching devotion to Linga and Jangama, and more so he was known for his virtuous character and miraculous powers [116] He was said to have performed a number of miracles at Kalyana while leading his religious movement He as glorified for using violence against other faiths like the Jains[117] and at certain places he was depicted to have lost temper even with his followers when they committed certain mistakes [118] He was described to have treated all the devotees with equal respect and regard without taking either their caste or character nto consideration [119]

The code of conduct followed by Basava

At two different places and in two different contexts in Basavapuranamu, Somanatha dealt with the code of conduct followed by Basava [120] When Basava went to

Kudala Sangama after his marriage the latter, in the guise of Guru appeared to Basava, blessed him and instructed him to behave according to His code of conduct which was as follows (1) He should look upon his enemies as friends if they wore linga (2) He should not take the caste of the bhaktas into consideration (3) He should tolerate the bhaktas even if they happened to be rude to him (4) He should not accept the food which was not prasada i e which was not offered to Sivabhaktas (5) He should not give up his faith or vrata even at the cost of his own life (6) He should be steadfast in the path of devotion to Siva and propagate it (7) He should put to death those who come in the way of his devotion to Siva (8) He should not look upon women with covetous eyes [121]

Note

Basava's vow to observe the above mentioned code of conduct

After accepting the office of Bhandari under Bijjala, Basava took the vow that he would (1) observe Sivaratri regularly, (2) look upon the Sivabhaktas as Siva, (3) not consider their defects and caste, (4) not ask any one even Siva for anything, (5) not deceive others, (6) give the devotees all that they ask for, (7) keep consistency between thoughts and words and words and deeds, (8) keep

to his word always, (9) not give victory to Siva, (10) see always the bhaktas winning over Siva, (11) not to cast covetous eyes on women and other's wealth (12) attack other theories and destroy other faiths, (13) not to lend ears to the criticism against Siva, (14) not touch the food that was not offered to Sivabhaktas, (15) act according to the wishes of the Sivabhaktas, (16) look upon Jangama as Linga, (17) and not yield to sensual pleasures [122]

Of the above mentioned qualities, Basava was praised for his devotion to Jangamas and looking upon the bhaktas equally especially the low caste Basava went to the extent of treating them as his kith and kin When he revolted against his father and left the house he said to his parents that they were not his parents, and Chennayya was his grand-father and Kakkayya was his uncle and he was their boy [123]

According to Somanatha, a very large number of Jangamas lived at Kalyana enjoying all the comforts provided by Basava Out of these, twelve thousand Jangamas were described as Minda Jangamas, that is those who indulged in sensual pleasures.[124] Somanatha described a number of incidents where Jangamas approached Basava, for certain

silly things and he was said to have given out whatever they asked for [125]

Basava was described to have performed a number of miracles also In fine, according to Somanatha, Basava was a great devotee who was known for many virtues, who attended on the bhaktas and Jangamas without taking their caste or questionable conduct into consideration who used to give away what all was asked for by the Jangamas and as a person who used miracles and violence to spread his religion He was prone to be angry even with his followers when they committed certain mistakes Though he was known morally to be a virtuous man since he used to provide ~~with~~ all the comforts to the licentious Jangamas knowing their sensual pleasures, he appears to be a person who did not insist on moral virtues in his bhaktas

But does this portrait of Basava by Somanatha tally in all respects with the true portrait of Basava from his own Vachanas ?

Basava in his own words

From the Vachanas of Basava it is evident that he gave much more prominence to moral virtues[126] of the

bhaktas He preached that one should not be prone to anger [127] He also said that one should shun the company of unworthy people [128] He did not believe in violence and stressed that one should have compassion [129] He did not believe in performing miracles[130] and a number of Vacanas can be cited in support of the above-said virtues of Basava Thus the image of Basava in his Vacanas differs greatly with that of Somanatha's image of Basava Basava gave prominence to both bhakti and the moral conduct of the devotee, whereas Somanatha's Basava gave prominence only to devotion According to Basava, one should not question the caste of the devotees but according to Somanatha's picture one should not question the caste as well the character of the devotees In this respect, the latter was a true follower of Mallikarjuna Pandita who announced that concept throughout his work - 'Sivatatva-saramu'

Moreover, Somanatha gathered the whole account of Basava as mentioned by himself from the bhaktas - the Viramahesvaras at Srisailam As was said by Basava himself many stories studded with miracles might have been in circulation even during his life-time[130A] Mallikarjuna Pandita, the contemporary of Basava mentioned only the

poison-drinking miracle of Basava The idea that one should give prominence only to bhakti and not to the moral aspect of the devotees was propagated mostly by Saiva Nayanars As has been seen earlier, this aspect influenced Mallikarjuna to a great extent and his teachings in turn might have influenced Somanatha also So according to the trend of the day, Somanatha too might have glorified the heroic and violent spirit of the bhaktas However, it can be said that Somanatha while doing so much service to spread Virasaivism through his writings unfortunately became responsible also for the misconceptions of some scholars about Basava and the Virasaiva movement While describing Basava, Somanatha mentioned at certain places that the former was holding a sword called 'Lingapasayitam'[131] (given by Siva) and though Somanatha nowhere mentioned that Basava used that to spread his religion, it was interpreted by some scholars, like Narayana Rao,[132] that Basava used the sword to propagate his religion He writes that the Virasaivas used violence uninterruptedly to spread their religion The devotees were mentioned to have carried their weapons and behaved lawlessly He says that among the followers of Basava some were said to be experts in thefts and the story of Kannada Brahmayya was quoted as an

example of this view According to him the idea, the violence used towards the propagation of Virasaivism was not violence, fully prevailed among the devotees of that day Whatever was done by the bhaktas towards pleasing Siva or Sivabhaktas was accepted as approved conduct

Ramakrishna Sastri[133] also expressed similar views Discussing the writings of Mallikarjuna and Somanatha he criticises their spirit of violence expressed in their writings for propagating the religion He writes that literature should always convey some worthy messa e to society He describes the heroic acts of the bhaktas, like pulling out the eyes and cutting the limbs, that were cited in appreciation in Virasaiva literature, as the acts of jugglery He concludes by saying that because of the approval of violence to propagate religion and the heroic acts, the Virasaiva religion and the literature lost their prominence It is evident from the above-mentioned views that the scholars did not have clear and correct picture of Basava and Virasaivism and for this Somanatha's writings to a certain extent should be held responsible Thus Somanatha the greatest Virasaiva poet of Andhra rendered a great service to spread his religion on the one hand and

also gave scope for the rise of some misconceptions about Basava and his followers and Virasaivism in general

Chapter V

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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Sākabdambalu vārdhi satkapuragitsankyam S 1164

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3 Intro to STS p 27 Depending upon the ad[illegible], [illegible] give some particulars about Annamayya and the [illegible]

4 V 9

5 VV 22, 23, 24 and 28

6 V 58

7 V 40

8 V 53

9 V 25

10 V ~~64~~ 133

11 V 23

12 V 26

13 V ~~54~~ 55

14 V 95

15 V 133

16 V 85

17 V 76

18 Vacana 274

19 S R K Sastri p 30 Tammayya P S Kavi pp 16-20

20 Intro to MPC pp 1-4

21 MPC Parvata Pra pp 376-389

22 P 30

23 Pp 17 and 18

24 BP (in verse) VV 37-44

25 Andhra Kavula Charitra I and II editions quoted by Tammayya P S Kavi pp 89-90

26 Intro to BP 1926 edition Andhra grandhamala pp 6-7

27 P S Kavi pp 87-129

28 Intro to MPC pp 19-22

29 "Palakurik Somanathuni Kalamu" Bharati Feb 1944

30 Pp 30-37

31 Palakuriki Somanathu deppatiyadu Chennapuri (Madras) 1955

32 Intro to BP Edition 1952, pp 27-34

33 Samudancha dvrushastavāmara mahījārāmanam, Sōmanam 3L of the verse quoted by Tammayya P S Kavi p 90

33A Salivāhana Sakābda madiyde Sāsirvadanūrimsanda nālvattu nālkaneyāranjita Chitrabhānuva varasvījyōtsi-taikadasi Tammayya P S Kavi, p 90 according to Venkata Subbayya it is said to be Sasirada nanurimsanda i e 1444 Ibid pp 108-115

34 Panditārādhya Krupāsamudgatudu Karasthali Somanāthayyagaru BP 2

35 Sri Belidēvi Vēmanādhya dēvu manuma sishyundu MPC Diksha Pra pp 13-14

36 Parvata Pra pp 550 to 551

37 Inscription of Nilagangavaramu Bharati Feb 1945 Dēvīyasya svakīya tripura vijayenēchakshurutpātya Pūjām Krutvarēje tatō siddha (hya) (ni) taramamalam dōchayākhyā Prasiddhā Venkataramanayya p 94

38 Niratisaya prīti nityambu naidu karavīra pushpamul harunakarpimpa nokkanādokadandu dakkuvayaina - grakkuna dana nētra kamalamarpinchi druvakīrti bērkonna Dōchamambayunu BP p 2

39 P 45-72

40 Pp 85-90

41 Pp 70-81

42 P 84

43 Parvata Pra pp 550-551

44 op cit

45 VV 28, 46

45A It is known as Kalya (in Magadi Taluk) A tomb with a big Nandi sculptured on a slab is said to be the tomb of Palakurik Somanatha Mysore Gaz Vol V p 185 Ed Hayavadana Rao

46 Venkataramanayya p 80

47 See Sec Historicity and date of Mallikarjuna Pandita Ch III

48 Bhāsha Chāritraka Vyāsāvali Andhra Sarasvata Parishat Waltair 1972, p 189

48A Sri Madāndramahābhāratamu Virāta Parvamu I canto V I and II

49 Vada Pra p 669 ff

50 Intro to MPC pp 80-83

51 Intro to BP 26

52 BP p 4

53 Ibid

54 MPC p 15

55 Anubhavasaramu V 32

56 Ibid

57 Umā māta pitā rudrā Diksha Pra p 13

58 Penupāru Janulaku bempudugoduka p 14

59 Palakuri Somanathudananga Velayuvadanu, Chaturvēda Pāragudanu p 15

60 P 16

61 Suranamatya's name was associated with Aapastamba Sutra Haritasagotra and he was described to have offered his eyes to Siva and got them back pp 15-16

62 (1) Prabhakara Sastri Intro to BP

(2) Narayana Rao Intro to MPC

(3) N Venkata Rao Intro BP

63 P S Kavi pp 43-44

64 BP p 4

65 Diksha Pra p 14

66 Ch Vs V 120

66A B P Pap 4

67 MPC Diksha Pra p 30

68 Ibid p 156

69 Ch Vs V 87

70 Ibid V 19

71 MPC Vada Pra Mallikarjuna was described as Śuddha Vaidika Śaivabaddhundu p 504

72 BP I canto p 16

73 Ibid

74 Parvata Pra 430

75 Ch Vs V 59

76 VV 69 and 239

77 VV 150, 154 and 157

78 VV 66 and 69

79 V 69

80 VV 66 and 67

81 V 213

82 V 26 and BP p 6

83 ABS V 238

84 Ibid VV 180-183

85 Ibid V 87

86 Ch Vs V 19

87 Ibid V 18

88 Ibid V 22

89 Virabhakti Savaidikambani Virachinchitivi Chaturvēdasaramuna MPC Diksha Pra p 11

90 BP I canto p 22 and II canto p 28

91 op cit Parvata Pra p 546 h 7

92 Ch Vs V 164

93 Ibid V 162

94 Intro to STS p 47

95 Intro to MPC p 80

96 VV 430 to 433

97 ABS VV 7-9

98 BP last page

99 Sri Nirmala Saiva Sahitya Grandhamalika Gandhinagaramu Kakinada-4 1969 Notes and explanation by Bandaru Tammayya and Nutikattu Kotaiah

100 Diksha Pra pp 207 ff

101 BP 1st canto p 6

102 According to Chenna Reddy, it was due to the influence of Kannada writings, especially the Jain writings where we find the works on Tirthankaras named as Puranas

like Santipurana Jinendra Purana and also Raghavanka's Siddharama Purana p 202

103 But according to Arjunavad epigraph it appears that Basava was not the only son for details P B Desai pp 132-133, and also R C Hiremath Sri Basavesvara A Biography Sri B C Vol 1967 p 11 Venkataramanayya appears to have given more weight to Somanatha's account pp 108 to 112

104 BP 16 But according to Harihara, Basava underwent Upanayana For details see Tammayya (1) "Somanatha-Harihara kavula kadhana bhedana pariseelana" Vyasavali Part II pp 76 (2) R C Hiremath "Sri Basavesvara A Biography" p 14 (3) P B Desai p 171

105 BP pp 18-19

106 According to the accounts of Kannada, ~~writings~~ Basava married two maidens — Gangadevi and Mayidevi, P B Desai p 180

107 BP II canto p 24

But according to Harihara, Basava started his career under Bijjala at Mangalaveda and when Bijjala usurped the Chalukyan throne he shifted his activities to Kalyana P B Desai however doubts whether Basava, though he himself also shifted his activities to Kalyana, continued his services under Bijjala For details see Basavesvara and his times pp 190 and his

doubt appears to be quite justifiable in the light of Basava's own Vacana No 119 For details of Mangalavada, see the same author p 187, and pp 265-267 also Tammayya and R C Hiremath op cit

108 BP II canto p 28

109 Ibid VII canto pp 179-180

110 Ibid pp 203-204 and 207 and 208

111 Ibid p 208

112 Inkanundagūdadiyūra nanuchu Śankarabhaktulu Jagadēvamantri banachina tollintibāsagaikonumu tunumu Śivadrōhi BP VII canto p 208 But Bhimakavi's account differs here from that of Somanatha's according to the former Basava and his bhaktas summoned Jagadeva and ordered him to kill Bijjala Ed R C Hiremath, Dharwar, 1966 BP Vol II, 60th Sandhi, pp 930-32

Note

113 BP VIIth Canto p 209

114 Ibid pp 209-210

115 Ibid p 110

116 Poison drinking miracles, turning the millets into pearls and so on

117 MPC Vada Pra p 582

118 With Jagadeva BP VII canto p 204

119 He took the vow of not to ask the caste of the bhaktas Bhaktula Kulamettipalukanibāsa BP II canto p 27 Many incidents can be quoted from BP that Basava followed it truely

120 Only the important aspects of this code of conduct of Basava are dealt here

121 I canto, p 22

122 II canto pp 27-28

123 Channayya mātāta Caeramātandri Pinnayya Kakkayya biddanunēnu I canto p 19 we find similar expression in Vacana's of Basavanna No 342, 347, 348, 350-352

124 P 30

125 BP III canto pp 48 MPC Diksha Pra pp 215-16 and p 218

126 Vas No 46, 121 235 and V 237

127 Va 248

128 Va 119 and 16

129 Va 247

130 Va 891

130A 9 b d (8 11)

131 BP I canto p 20 II canto p 38

132 Intro MPC p 325-326

133 Pp 389-391

Words with diacritical marks and glossary

(Names of the books underlined)

Abheda - No difference, identical

Abhiseka - Anointing A particular rite of sprinkling water or certain specified things over the head of an idol or person

Ācārya - A spiritual guide or preceptor A teacher of the Vedas and all subsidiary sciences

Āgama - Veda or holy scripture

Agrahāra - A village inhabited by Brahmins

Aiteśvara

Ala - An exclamation used as a definite article

Amarāvati

Anantapāla

Āndhra Sāhitya Parisat Patrika

Ānavamala - Impurity of innate ignorance (One of the three impurities by which the soul is said to have been covered or held according to some Saiva schools like Kashmir and Vīrasaivism

Anubhavasāramu

Āpastambha

Ārādhya - Reverred

Astāvarana - The eight coverings or emblems of Vīraśaivism

Atharvaśiropanisat

Avatāra - Incarnation

Avatārika - Preface

Avaidika - That is not vedic

Badarāyana

Bandāri or Bandāru - The treasurer

Basavasūktamulu - The sayings of Basava

Belidevi Vemanārādhya

Bhaktācāra - Conduct towards the devotees of Śiva

Bhaktimārga - The path of devotion

Bhasma - The sacred ash

Bhāvaliṅga - One of the three aspects of the infinite Divine (For details see Kumaraswamiji - '<u>Vīraśaivism</u>' <u>The cultural heritage of India</u>, Vol IV, Calcutta, 1956, pp 105-106)

Bhavi - Non-Śaiva, sinner

Bhedābheda - Difference-cum-non-difference

Bhīmāgama

Bhīma kavi

Bhīmana

Bhīmeśvara

Bouddhārāma

Brahmanāyudu

Brahmavādulu - The upholders or advocates of Brahman

Brahmarāsi Pandita

Buddhālaya - The Buddhist temple

Buddhavāda - A place

Cāpa-kūdu - lit mat-rice to dine together ignoring the caste barriers

Cālukya

Candīsa

Candrajnānāgama

Caitanya - According to Vīraśaiva terminology - the spirit of Śiva resides in the body of an individual soul and is extracted by the Guru in the form of Istalinga

Cārvākas - The followers of Cārvāka i e the materialists

Caturvedārthavetta - One who can interpret the four Vedas

Caturvedasāramu

Caturvedin - A scholar in four vedas

Dama - Self-control

Dāmalapāti Chennamanedu

Daśavidha Śaivamulu - Ten types of Śaivisms

Deśika - Teacher

Devakarni - One who occupies an important or middle place among gods

Dharanīndrarāsi Pandita

Dhārana - To wear

Dharmabhūsana - A title lit one who has the ornament of dharma

Dhavalesu Nāmayya

Dīksha - Initiation

Docamāmba

Docayākhya - Doca + Ākhya named Doca

Drāksārāma

Duhkhānta - End or cessation of sorrow

Durācāra - Bad or disapproved conduct

Dvaita - Dualism

Dvaitādvaita - Dualism-cum-non-dualism

Dvivedin - Scholar in two Vedas

Ekorāmākhya

Ekorāmayatīndra

Gamaka - The collective term given to the various shakes and graces used in Indian music (P Sambamurthy, South Indian Music, Book I, Madras 1966, p 54)

Gana - A group

Ganācāra - The spirit of vindication The conduct towards the devotees or attendants of Śiva who are considered to be the Ganas of Śiva according to Vīraśaiva terminology

Ganamatha

Ganapatideva

Gangādharamantri

Gātramulayandu - On the bodies

Gaurāmba

Gāyatrimantra

Golaki

Goraga - Śaiva mendicant (A Telugu form of Kannada gorava <u>E I</u> Vol XV p 156)

Gunaratnasūri

Hasta-mastaka samyoga - The act of keeping Guru's hand on the head of the person who receives the Liñga-dhārana Dīksha during the process of Initiation By this act it is believed that Guru purifies the devotee from the impurities and extracts the spirit of Śiva that resides in the individual in the form of Istaliñga

Homa - An offering by fire

Imatūru

Indalūru

Istaliṅga - lit The favourite liṅga In the Vīraśaiva terminology, the linga bestowed on each individual by the Guru during initiation and it is worn on the body of the followers of the faith

Istaliṅgārcana - Worship of Istaliṅga

Īśvarakulaja - lit belonging to the caste of Śiva, a devotee of Śiva

Ivatūru

Jāgarana - To keep awake in the night on certain sacred days

Jagat kāryamu - The cause of the universe

Jalaposanamu - A Persian derivative Jar-Posh-gold covering (T Donappa p 189)

Jaṅgama - lit movable In Vīraśaiva terminology one who goes from place to place preaching the doctrines of Vīraśaivism (For more details, see S C Nandimath, pp 56-58 H P Malledevaru pp 69-70)

Jangamasthala - One of the six sthalas or stages that a soul is said to reach on its way to the final goal according to Vīrasaiva philosophy

Japa - A form of prayer mentally changing the name of the favourite god One of the six yogas

Jīllapālu - Latex of calotrophis (milk-weed)

Jnānamārga - The path of knowledge

Kāduvetti

Kaifīyat - Village record

Kākatīya

Kālāmukha

Kālavādulu - The upholders or advocates of the time factor, as the ultimate power of controlling the universe

Kandūru cododaya

Kārana - Cause

Karmavādulu - Upholders or advocates of the theory of Karma

Kārtikeya - The god of war Another name of Kumārasvāmi - the son of Śiva

Keśavasvāmin

Ketarāja

Kondabhūpa

Kotipalli Ārādhyadeva

Kūdala Saṅgama

Kula Tilaka - An ornament to his caste

Kumārila

Lakuliśvaragama

Lenka - A servant (See for a detailed discussion on the

meaning of the term, N Venkataramanayya Bharati July 1975, pp 8-13)

Liṅgadhārana - To wear liṅga

Liṅgadhārin - One who wears liṅga on the body

Liṅgapasāyitam - Derived from the word Liṅga-Prasādita i e blessed or bestowed by Liṅga (Narayana Rao C Intro MPC p 325)

Liṅgasthala or Liṅgaikyasthala - One of the Satsthalas of Vīraśaiva philosophy

Liṅgarcana - The worship of Liṅga

Mādiraja

Madhyākkara

Mādayadeva

Mahāmandalesvara - A ruler of a region

Maheśvara - Śiva or the devotee of Śiva also

Mahīvalaya - The globe

Mailāra - A minor deity

Mailārabhata - Devotees of God Mailāra

Mala - Impurity

Mallāreddi

Malleśvara

Mallikārjuna Panditāradhya

Mallinātha

<u>Mancannagala vacana</u>

Mānyudu - Respectable or venerable person

Manuma - The grandson

Māyā - The doctrine of illusion

Mīmāmsakāra - A scholar in Mīmāmsa i e one of the six systems of Indian philosophy

Minda Jañgamas - Jañgamas who indulged in sensual pleasures at the houses of prostitutes

Mithya - False, or untrue

Mounavrata - The vow of observing silence

Muddu maradi - Dear brother-in-law

Nāgabhūsanakavi

Nāgaliñga

Nāgāmba

Nāganārādhya

Nāgeśvara

Naiyāyikas - Advocates of Nyāya philosophy

Nandikeśvara - The name of the divine Bull - the vehicle of Lord Śiva

Nandikesvara vrata - A religious ritual to please lord Nandikeśvara

Nāyanārs - The ancient Śiva devotees of Tamilnad

Necchelikādu - A friend

Niluvugannulu - Unwinking eyes or eyes on the forehead

Nirābhāra Vīraśaiva yati - A Vīrasaiva ascetic

Nirdahān - Destroyer

Nitya karma - Daily rites

Niyama - Principle

Nyāya - One of the six systems of Indian philosophy

Om Namah Śivāyah - Obeisance to Śiva It is called Pancākṣari - a prayer of five letters to invoke Lord Śiva

Padmākṣi

Pādodaka - Water used to wash the feet of Guru or a holy man

Pālakuriki

Pallaketabhūpāla

Pancācāryas - Five Ācāryas

Pancama - Fifth

Pancamulu - People belonging to the fifth caste

Pancarāsi Pandita

Pancarātras - A Vaisnava sect The followers of Pāncarātra Āgama

Pandita trayamu - Trinity of the scholars

Pāśa - Noose

Paramaliṅgārcanāparulu - The great worshippers of liṅga

Pasu - The soul in bondage

Paśupati - The master or the lord of the souls (Śiva)

Patita - A sinner A person who has a downfall from the approved conduct

Pattābhirāmavilāsam

Pempudu koduku - An adopted son

Periyapurānam

Permādi

Pocirāju Vīranāmātya

Potināyaka

Prakarana - A chapter or a section of a book lit contextual

Pramathaganas - Groups of attendants of Śiva

Prānaliṅga - According to Vīraśaiva philosophy - liṅga connected with the subtle body of the disciple But at certain places it is used as synonym to Istaliṅga (Somanātha, MPC Dīksa Pra p 30 S C Nandimath p 72)

Pranāma - Salutation

Prānāyāma - A breathing exercise

Prapatti - To surrender oneself to god

Prasāda - The food presented to any deity or blessed by a priest or Guru

Prasādasthala - One of the Satsthala (or six sthalas)

Pratyāhāra - Restraining the organs so as to be indifferent to dis-agreeable or agreeable excitement

Purāna or Puranamu - Old - a chronicle or legend

Purātana - Old, ancient

Rāga - Tune (also affection or love)

Rāja Rājeśvara

Raksa - Protection

Rāmaliṅga

Rāmānuja

Rāmeśvararāsi Pandita

Rendrevulu

Rentāla Mallinātha

Renukācārya

Revana siddha deśika

Rudra ganas - Troops of deities considered as the attendants of Śiva

Rudrāksa dhārana - To wear beads

Rudraloka - The abode of Rudra or Siva

Rudropanisat

Sadācāra - The virtuous or approved conduct

Sadaṅgayoga - The six fold yoga or meditation

Saivasāhitya - Saiva literature

Śama - The restraint of the mind   Tranquility

Śāmbhavadīksha - Consecration for Lord Siva

Samādhi - The placidity of mind (also a grave or tomb)

Śamī - (Telugu Jammi)   A tree called prosopis spicegera

Sampādita - To gain or earn

Samputi - Volume

Samrāt - Emperor

Samskāra - The merit, culture or purification (The word is used in association with Pūrvajanma i e previous birth   Hence this meaning)

Samudrāntarsthali - A place in the midst of the sea

Sañcika - Issue

Sañgameśvara

Sañkara

Sānkhya - One of the six schools of Indian philosophy

Saptavidha Śaivamulu - Seven types of Śaivism

Śaranas - The followers of Basava

Sārvabhouma - Emperor

Sarvajna - One who knows everything   Omniscient

<u>Sarveśvaraśatakamu</u>

Śatakamu - A literary work containing hundred or about hundred verses

Satsthala Siddhānta - A system of six stages of achieving union with God according to Virasaiva philosophy

Siddha Vīravrata Sīlānvitudu - One who observes certain vows strictly to show his devotion to Śiva

Sīlāmatha

Śivabhakta - Devotee of Śiva

Śivabhakti - Devotion to Śiva

Śivācāra - Conduct towards Śiva

Śivācārya - A Saiva preceptor

Śivadroha - An offence or harm to Siva or His devotees

Śivādvaita - Oneness of Śiva and the souls

Sivagīta

Śivakulinudu - One who belongs to the noble caste of Śiva (Strictly speaking there is no caste, by that name and it is used to denote a devotee of Śiva)

Śivaloka - The abode of Śiva

Śivālaya - A temple of Siva

Śivanirmālyamu - Anything that is offered to Śiva (Nirmālya - free from impurity)

Sivarātri - The fourteenth day of Krishnapaksa in the month of Māgha observed by the devotees of Śiva as a sacred day to Siva (The devotees observe fasting and keep awake in the night and pray God Śiva)

Śivaśāsanadharulu) - One who carries out the orders of
Śivaśāsanudu) Śiva (The devotees of Śiva are described so)

Śivatatva - The category or nature of Śiva

Śivatatvacintāmani

Śivatatvasāramu

Śivayogi - A Śaiva ascetic

Smārtas - The followers of the religious system of Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya

Somanātha

Somarāja

Somarāśi

Somaśambhudeśika

Someśvara

Srī Buddhām

Śrikanthabhāsyam

Śrīpati

Śrīvaisnava

Sriyādevi

Sthāvaraliṅga - Liṅga consecrated in a temple

Śuddha - Pure, unpolluted

Sūrānamātya

Sureśvara Pandita

Svetāsvetaropanisad

Tantra - A secret code of worship

Tārkika - A logician

Trayodaśaganas - Thirteen groups of attendants of Śiva
(Somanātha describes Śivabhaktas so)

Trivedi - One who is proficient in three Vedas

Tripundram - The three lines of the holy ash on the forehead which denotes a Śiva devotee

Ubhaya vedānta - Both the philosophies

Udayāvanīśa

<u>Udbhatakāvya</u>

Upanayana - The thread ceremony initiating a child into education

Ūrdhvanetramulu - Eyes on the forehead

Vacana - Sayings of Śaranas

Vacanapitāmaha - A title (The father of Vacana literature)

Vacana Śāstra - Vacana literature

Vaikhānasas - The followers of a Vaisnava saint Vikhanāsa

Vaisesikas - The followers of Vaisesika philosophy One of the six systems of Indian philosophy

<u>Vañjamayāvatārika</u>

Vardhamānapura

Varnāśramadharma

Vasadi - Place (~~The~~ Jain temple)

Vedāntasūtra - The principle of Vedānta

Vedaśāstrārthavetta - One who can interpret Vedas and religious lore

Vedavādulu - The advocates of the Vedas

Vedoktabhakti - Devotion approved by the Vedas

Vedic dharma - Piety approved by the Vedas

Velanādu

Vellatūru

Vetūru

<u>Vibhūti Rudrāksa Mahātmyamu</u>

Vikramāditya

Vimarśāgresara - (a title) The best of the critics

Vīrabhadra

Vīrabhakti - Heroic devotion

Vīracāki Rājavya

Vīramāheśvara

Vīramāheśvarācāra - It is sometimes used as a synonym to Vīraśaiva

Vīrayamuttamantri

Vīraśaivism

Vīravrata - One who observes certain religious vows without fail to show his devotion to Śiva

Vīreśaliṅgam

Viriyāla

Viśveśvara Śivādeva

Viśvanāthapura

Visvanāthayya

Vṛṣabhasthava

Vṛṣādhipa Śatakamu

Vyoma Śiva

Yajna - Sacrifice

Yajnopavīta - Holy thread

Yama - Restraining or controlling the passions

Yoga - The act of meditation

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